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HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES I.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

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VOL. II.

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OXFORD: D. A. TALBOYS,

AND 113, FLEET STREET, LONDON.

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HISTORY OF

THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES I.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

1643—1645.

THE joy of the presbyterians was complete: the parliament were indebted to their chief for their salvation; their enemies were quiet; the Scottish army, which was about to arrive, promised them a certain support; henceforward, therefore, the management of reform and war would belong to them alone, and they could at their will suspend or continue them.

In the house, as well as without, in London and in the counties, an access of religious fervour and tyranny soon revealed their empire. The general assembly of the church received orders to prepare a plan of ecclesiastical government[a]; four divines from Scotland were summoned to work in concert towards the great design of the party, uniformity of worship in

[a] October 12th, 1643; Neal, History of the Puritans, vol. iii p. 123.

both nations[b]. The committees appointed in each county to examine the conduct and doctrine of all ecclesiastics then in office were more rigorous than ever; nearly two thousand ministers were ejected from their livings[c]; many others, against whom charges were brought, as anabaptists, Brownists, independents, etc. were thrown into prison by men, who, but a little time before, cursed with them their common persecutors. In the city all those who refused to adopt the covenant were declared incapable of sitting in the common council, or even to vote at elections[d]. The parliament, from the beginning of the war, had ordered all the theatres to be closed, without pronouncing any religious anathema against them, merely saying that times of public affliction should be devoted to prayer and repentance, rather than to pleasure[e]. The same interdiction was now extended to all kinds of amusements, to all popular recreations resorted to on Sundays or holidays throughout the kingdom; not one was excepted, however innocent or ancient; the maypoles, which for ages

[b] November 20th, 1643; they were Henderson, Rutherford, Gillespie, and Baillie; Baillie, vol. i. p. 398; Godwin, Hist. of the Commonwealth, vol. i. p. 349.

[c] The writers of the episcopal party have carried the number to 8000, their adversaries reduce it to less than 1600. The estimate I have adopted is that which results from the information given by Neal, Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 111-113.

[d] December 20th, 1643; Neal, Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 66.

[e] September 2nd, 1642; Parl. Hist., vol. ii. col. 1461.

had been erected as monuments of public joy at the return of spring, were everywhere hewn down, and orders given that no new ones should be erected; and if even children infringed these laws their parents were fined[f]. Archbishop Laud, who had lain three years forgotten in his prison, was all at once called to the bar of the upper house, and summoned to answer the impeachment of the commons[g]. Fanaticism reckons hatred and vengeance among its duties.

The same zeal was manifested for war: the presbyterians of the city, proud of having had so large a share in the late victories, no longer spoke of peace; a great number of rich citizens equipped soldiers, and even offered to serve in person. One of them, Roland Wilson, who expected to inherit from his father an immense commerce and an income of two thousand a year in landed property, joined Essex at the head of a regiment levied at his own expense[h]. Even some of the leaders who were very lately inclined for a treaty, Hollis, Glynn, Maynard, addressed the common council to excite them to their utmost efforts[i]. Never had the party appeared more energetic nor in more certain possession of prerogative.

Yet their downfal was close at hand. They

[f] Neal, Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 139. The fine was twelve pence.

[g] November 13th, 1643; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. p. 183.

[h] Whitelocke, p. 72.

[i] Ibid. p. 81.

had been engaged from the beginning in a two-fold reform, that of the church and that of the state; but they did not follow both in the name of the same principles and designs. In matter of religion their faith was ardent, their tenets simple, firm, rigorously defined, and dependent one upon another. In their eyes, the presbyterian system, the government of the church by ministers equal among themselves, and acting in concert, was not a human institution which could be modified according to time and circumstances; it was in their opinion the only legal system, a government existing by divine right, even the law of Christ. It was their desire that this system should triumph without restriction, at what rate soever, as a holy and indispensable revolution. In politics, on the contrary, notwithstanding the severity of their actions and language, their ideas were vague and their intentions moderate; no systematic belief, no truly revolutionary desire governed them; they loved monarchy though they fought against the king, and respected prerogative though they laboured to enslave the crown; they trusted in the commons alone, yet without feeling either contempt or malevolence towards the lords; in short, they obeyed ancient customs as well as their new necessities, without laying down any precise code of principles, or regarding what would be the consequences of their conduct; they sought only a legal reform, and they wished for nothing more.

Thus agitated by contrary dispositions, by turns imperious and wavering, fanatical and moderate, the presbyterian party were even without leaders from among their own body, uniformly animated by feelings congenial with their own. They followed in the wake of the political reformers, the first interpreters and the real representatives of the national feeling. This alliance was natural and necessary to them: natural, for they coincided in the wish to reform without abolishing the government; necessary, for they were in possession of power, and maintained it by the superiority of their rank, their riches, and their knowledge; advantages which the most ardent presbyterians never presumed to contest with them. But the political reformers, though they accepted, and even in case of need purchased by great concessions the support of the presbyterians, were far from partaking either of their views or opinions on church government; a moderate episcopacy, restricted to the legal administration of ecclesiastical affairs, would have better suited them; and as they never served the presbyterian system without reluctance, so they secretly sought to retard its progress. Thus the energy of this party in the religious revolution which was sought, was counteracted by leaders whom it neither would nor could forsake, although their unanimity was only complete and sincere on political reform; or, in other words, in that cause in which both leaders and sectaries had neither un-

manageable passions to deal with, nor absolute principles to carry out.

Now at the end of 1643, political reform, at least the legal part of it, was consummated; abuses no longer existed: all the laws which were thought necessary had been made, and institutions modified as far and as well as they could be; nothing seemed wanting to complete the work which the defenders of ancient liberties and the presbyterian party alike desired and could accomplish together. But the religious revolution was scarcely begun, and political reform, wavering and ill-established, on the point of being transformed into a revolution. The moment then approached in which the hidden defects of the dominant party, the incoherence of its formation, of its principles, of its designs, would infallibly break forth. It was daily obliged to tread in different paths, to attempt contrary efforts. What it wished for in the church it repudiated in the state; it was obliged, constantly shifting its ground and its language, to appeal at one time to democratic principles and passions against the bishops, and at another to monarchical and aristocratical maxims and influences against the rising notions of republicanism. It was a strange sight to see men upholding with one hand what they destroyed with the other; one day preaching up innovations, and cursing them upon another; alternately daring and timid, at once rebellious and despotic; persecuting the bishops under the sanction of liberty.

and the independents in the name of [illegible]tive; in short, taking on themselves the privilege of insurrection and tyranny, though daily pouring forth invectives against both.

The party besides this found itself forsaken, disowned, or compromised by several of its leaders. Some of them, like Rudyard, particularly careful of their own reputation and virtue, retired from the conflict or only appeared at long intervals, and then rather to protest than act. Others, less honest, like St. John, or bolder and more persevering, like Pym, or concerned chiefly for their own safety, endeavoured to please, or at least spared the new party of which they foresaw the approaching power. Many, already undeceived and corrupted, had given up all patriotic hopes; and, no longer caring for anything but their own advantage, formed in the committees invested with the management of affairs, a rapacious coalition, which voted offices, confiscations, and bargains to each other. Among the lords who had thus far engaged in the national cause, several, as mentioned above, had lately forsaken it, to seek a reconciliation with the king; others withdrew entirely from public affairs and retired to their country seats, and, to avoid sometimes pillage and at other times sequestration, negotiated alternately with the court and the parliament.

On the 22nd of September only ten lords sat in the upper house; on the 5th of October only

five[k]. A nominal appeal having been made at the beginning of each sitting[l], and the fear that their absence would be legally inquired into, brought a few back to Westminster; but the higher aristocracy, daily regarded with more suspicion by the people, and estranged from them, became still rather an encumbrance than a support to the presbyterian party; thus, though their religious fanaticism drove from them many powerful defenders of public liberties, their political moderation prevented their breaking with those uncertain and compromising allies.

In short, for three years this party had been in power: whether they had or had not accomplished their designs in the church or state, it was through their aid and by their consent that for three years all affairs had been conducted; this was sufficient to make many people tired of them; they were accused of the many evils which had been suffered, of the disappointment of so many hopes, and they were found to be as much given to persecution as the bishops, and as arbitrary as the king; their inadvertencies and inconsistencies were bitterly remembered; in short, without any fastidious or interested views, through the mere progress of opinions

[k] Journals of the House of Lords. The ten lords present on the 22nd of September, were the earls of Bolingbroke, Lincoln, Stamford, and Denbigh; Viscount Say and the knights Grey, Wharton, Howard, Henderson, and Dacre.

[l] Journals of the House of Lords.

and events, a secret want of new principles and new rulers was almost universally felt.

Both these were ready, and only wanted an opportunity to seize the reins of government. Long before these disturbances had broken out, when the presbyterians began to show plainly their intention of imposing on the national church a republican constitution, and to maintain in that form a union of power as well as of faith, and thus to struggle with episcopacy for its papal inheritance, the independents, Brownists, anabaptists, openly inquired whether a national church was necessary or not, and by what title any power whatsoever, whether papal, episcopal, or presbyterian, dared to arrogate to itself the right of forcing Christian consciences into the yoke of a deceitful unanimity. Every congregation of sincere Christians, inhabiting the same or some neighbouring place, who assembled freely in one common faith to praise the Lord, was, they said, a true church, over which no other could have any legal authority, and possessed the right of choosing its own ministers, ruling its own worship, and, in a word, governing itself by its own laws.

The principle of liberty of conscience, on its first appearance, thus proclaimed by obscure sectaries, in the midst of the errors of a blind enthusiasm, was treated as a crime or madness. The independents, themselves, seemed to uphold what they did not understand, and to argue less from reason than necessity. Episcopalians and

presbyterians, preachers and magistrates, all alike proscribed to it: the question how and by whom the church of Christ was to be governed, continued to be the only one debated; it was thought there was nothing to do but to choose between the absolute power of the pope, the aristocracy of the bishops, and the democracy of the presbyterian clergy; it was never asked whether these governments were legitimate in their principles, whatever their forms or appellation.

A great excitement, however, still prevailed in every part of society, extending even to those things which did not seem to be affected by this question; every day brought forth some proof from which no system could escape, and some argument which the reigning party attempted in vain to stifle. The minds of men were constantly engaged in the consideration of some mere view of human affairs, in the discussion of opinions, or the repelling of pretensions till then unheard of; and in this work they acquired enlarged notions and freedom of thought, only laying it aside, some to give way to still more extended ideas on man and society, and others audaciously to shake of every kind of restraint. At the same time, practical liberty, in matter of faith and worship, was almost absolute; no jurisdiction, no repressive authority, had yet taken the place of that of episcopacy; and the parliament, occupied in conquering their enemies, gave little heed to the pious wanderings of their partisans. The presbyterian zealots, sometimes obtained from the house

threatening declarations against new sectaries; sometimes the fears and hatred of the political reformers coincided with those of their devout allies, and together they employed rigorous measures against their adversaries. An ordinance, "destined," said the preamble, "to put down the calumnies, of which the religion and government had for some time been the objects," abolished the liberty of the press, which had been hitherto tolerated, and commanded that all publications should be submitted to a previous examination[m]. But no power could stop those who were carried along by the same current by which it had already been forced forward. At the end of a few weeks the royalists and partisans of episcopacy were the only ones who were affected by these restrictions; the new sects escaped or disregarded them, while they multiplied on every side, independents, Brownists, anabaptists, antipædobaptists, quakers, antinomians, men of the fifth monarchy, all becoming daily more varied and more fervent. Under the very shadow of their own authority, revolution was raising up against the presbyterians a host of enthusiasts, philosophers, and libertines.

All questions henceforward took a different turn, the social fermentation changed its character. Powerful and time-honoured facts had till then directed and limited the views of

[m] June 11th, 1643; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. p. 131.

political, and even of religious reformers; to the first, the laws and constitution of old England, such at least as they imagined them to have been; to the latter, the constitution of the church, such as it already existed in Scotland, Holland, and Geneva, served as a model and a curb. However bold in their enterprises, neither had given themselves up to extravagant vague desires, or unlimited pretensions: all in their designs was not innovation, nor in their hopes conjecture; and, if they deceived themselves respecting the tendency of their actions, they could at least assign to them an object. No decided aim ruled the steps of their rivals, no fact, historical or legal, bounded their thought; trusting in its strength, proud of its elevation, its holiness, or its boldness, they gave up to it the right of deciding in every difficulty, of ruling over all—and, taking it for their sole guide, they sought, at whatever price it might be, philosophers the truth, enthusiasts the Lord, libertines success. They demanded that institutions, laws, customs, events, every thing should be ruled according to the reason or will of man; every thing became the subject of new combinations, of learned creations, and in this bold undertaking every thing seemed legitimate, on the plea of principle, religious enthusiasm, or necessity. The presbyterians proscribed royalty and aristocracy from th church; why should they be maintained in the state? The political reformers had shown, that, in the end, if the king, or the lords, refused their

adherence, the will of the commons alone could be decisive; why not declare it openly? why should the sovereignty of the people be called upon only when all other means failed, when it ought to be the foundation of the government itself, and give legality to power? After having shaken off the yoke of the popish and the episcopal clergy, the nation was near falling under that of the presbyterian clergy. What was the use of a clergy? by what right did ministers form an independent, permanent, and rich class, authorised to claim the power of the magistrates' arm? Let all jurisdiction, even the power of excommunication, be taken from them, and the power of persuasion, preaching, teaching, and prayer, be alone left to them, and all abuse of spiritual authority, all the difficulty of making it agree with civil power would immediately cease. Besides, it is not in ministers, but in the body of believers, that legitimate power properly resides in matters of faith: it is the people who have the right to choose and appoint their ministers, not the ministers to appoint one another, and then impose themselves on the people. In short, is not every Christian a minister for himself, for his family, indeed for all those who, touched by his words, believe him inspired from on high, and are willing to join in his prayers? Who will dare to dispute with the Lord the power of conferrign his gifts on whom he pleases, and as he pleases? Whether to preach or to fight, it is

the Lord alone who chooses and blesses his saints, and it is to his chosen that he intrusts his cause, and to them alone he reveals how and by what means that cause shall be made to triumph. Libertines applauded this language; provided the revolution was carried on to the end, they troubled themselves but little about the means, and still less about the motives.

Thus the party of the independents began to rise, and though far less numerous and far less deeply rooted in the national soil than that of the presbyterians, it already possessed that ascendency, which a systematical and settled creed, ever ready to give a reason of its principles, and to bear with their consequences, is sure to acquire. England was then in a crisis, at once fearful and glorious, in which man, forgetting his weakness, and considering only his dignity, is animated by the sublime ambition of obeying truth alone, and by the insane pride of attributing to opinion all the rights of truth. Politicians or sectaries, presbyterians or independents, no party would have dared to think itself entitled to power, but from being in the right and proving it. Now the presbyterians failed in this endeavour, for their wisdom was founded on the authority of facts and laws, not upon principles, and they were incapable of opposing by sheer reason the arguments of their rivals. The independents alone professed a simple doctrine, strict in appearance, which sanctioned all their actions, was sufficient to the wants of their situation, relieving firm minds from inconsistency,

and sincere hearts from hypocrisy. They alone also began to pronounce some of those powerful words, which whether well or ill-understood, rouse some of the most energetic passions of the human heart, in the name of its noblest hopes; they spoke of equality of rights, of a just distribution of social property, and of the destruction of all abuses. There was no contradiction between their religious and political systems, no secret struggle between the leaders and the soldiers; no exclusive creed, no rigorous test rendered admission into this party difficult; like the sect of which they had taken the name, they held liberty of conscience as a fundamental maxim, and the immensity of the reform they projected, the great uncertainty of their designs, allowed men of every denomination to follow their banners: the lawyers joined them, in hopes of dispossessing their rivals, the clergy, of all power and jurisdiction; the popular writers on common law, hoped that a new, clear, and simple legislation, which would deprive attorneys of their enormous profits and power, would be established through their means: Harrington could dream among them of a society of sages; Sidney, of the liberty of Sparta, or of Rome; Lilburne on the re-establishment of the old Saxon laws; Harrison of the coming of Christ; even the cynical principles of Henry Martyn and Peter Wentworth were tolerated by favour of their very boldness. Thus republicans or levellers, reasoners or dreamers, the fanatic or the ambitious,

all were allowed to unite their passions, theories, ecstacies, and intrigues; it was enough that all were animated with the same hatred against cavaliers and presbyterians, and that all looked with the same fervour towards that unknown futurity from which the accomplishment of so many hopes was expected. No victory of Essex and his adherents on the battle field, or in Westminster, could stifle or even long repress dissensions like these; they were publicly spoken of at Oxford, as well as in London; and all prudent men, whether parliamentarians or royalists, took them for the basis of their combinations. From all sides the king was informed of what was going on, and urged to take advantage of it. Courtiers or ministers, intriguers and faithful servants, all had some information to give on this subject, or proposals and means to suggest; some advised that war should be carried on without further delay, certain that the rival factions would soon be more influenced by their enmities, than by their danger; others, on the contrary, were of opinion, that through the intervention of those lords who had sought refuge at Oxford, particularly the earls of Holland and Bedford, a reconciliation with Essex and his party, who had ever been secretly inclined to peace, might be contrived and effected; others even deemed it prudent that proposals should be made to the leaders of the independents, who were already well known, saying it would be the cheapest way; and lord Lovelace, with the king's consent, kept up a

constant correspondence with Sir Harry Vane; little did he think that Vane on his side, was playing the same game, and acted entirely in concert with his party, in order to learn as much as he could of the state of the court. None of those counsels were however followed[n]; It was with great difficulty that those lords who had deserted the parliament obtained a reception at Oxford; at the first report of their expected arrival, a general outcry burst forth against them; the privy council had been solemnly assembled, to deliberate at length on what reception should be given them; and, notwithstanding the prudent representations of Hyde, who had recently been appointed chancellor of the exchequer, Charles, though he consented to receive them, had decided that they should be treated coldly[o]. In vain did lord Holland, one of the most elegant of courtiers, so far succeed by the help of Mr. Jermyn, as to regain the queen's favour[p]; in vain did he strive by all the means in his power to reassume his former familiarity with the king, sometimes affecting to whisper in his ear, at others endeavouring under some pretext, to call him aside near the window to have the opportunity, or at least to give himself the appearance of entertaining a private conversation with him[q]; in vain, even at th

[n] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 199; Whitelocke, p. 76.
[o] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vi. p. 197.
[p] Ibid. p. 203, 256.
[q] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vi. p. 258.

battle of Newbury, did he valiantly fight as a volunteer, and offer his blood as a pledge of his sincerity[r]; nothing had been able to subdue the haughty reserve of the king, nor put a stop to the clamours of the court; and far from finding their services accepted, the refugees already began to think of the means of escaping from so many annoyances. The advocates of a vigorous war were heard with rather more favour, but with as little effect: the bad success of the siege of Gloucester had thrown Oxford into a state of impotent and restless anarchy; every one blamed his fellow for the unfortunate issue of that unfortunate undertaking; the council complained of the insubordination of the army; the army scoffed at the reproaches of the council; prince Rupert, though no one but the king, even on a day of battle, had a right to command him[s], was jealous of the general in chief; the general and most of the lords exclaimed loudly against the independence and vulgar brutality of prince Rupert. The king, who in the person of his nephew respected the dignity of his own blood, could not bring himself to decide against him in favour of a subject, and thus sacrificed to this ridiculous pride the rights and even the services of his most useful friends. Hyde alone frankly condemned these faults, and sometimes succeeded in persuading the king to act otherwise; but Hyde, himself a stranger at court,

[r] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vi. p. 255.

[s] Ibid. p. 73.

without any influence or power beyond that which his office gave him, often needed the king's will to uphold him against the queen's anger, or the intrigues of jealous courtiers; he maintained his reputation as an influential counsellor, and a wise man, yet without exercising any real ascendency, and without obtaining any important result. In short, discord was as great at Oxford as in London, and far more fatal; for in London it hastened, while at Oxford it paralyzed the progress of affairs.

It was in the midst of these embarrassments, and when Charles, in his heart, was perhaps as tired of his party as he was of his people, that he heard of the new alliance between Scotland and the parliament, and that thus another of his kingdoms was preparing to make war against him. He immediately ordered the duke of Hamilton, who had regained his confidence, and was his commissioner at Edinburgh, to prevent this union at whatever rate. It is said that the offer of securing henceforward a third of the offices in the royal household to the Scots was made with the promise that the counties of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, formerly belonging to the Scottish territory, should again form part of it, and that the king should for the future establish his residence at Newcastle, so as to place the prince of Wales and his court in the midst of them[t]. These

[t] Burnet, History of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 72, in the Collection, des Mém. relat. à la Révolution d' Angleterre.

promises, if they were indeed made, could not be sincere, nor could they ever be accomplished; and, had the Scottish parliament wished otherwise, a recent event rendered it impossible that they should be deceived by them. The earl of Antrim had just been arrested in Ireland, by some Scottish troops quartered at Ulster, where the earl had landed a few hours before; and on his person had been found proofs of a plan formed at York between him and Montrose, during their stay with the queen, to transport to Scotland a numerous body of Irish Roman catholic troops, to raise the highlanders of the north, and thus form a powerful diversion in favour of the king. This design was evidently on the point of being carried into execution, as Montrose had joined the king at the siege of Gloucester, and Antrim had just left Oxford. Thus, it appears, the king, like as when he made his last journey to Scotland, was meditating the most sinister designs against his subjects, at the very moment that he was holding out to them the most magnificent proposals. The Scottish parliament hastily concluded their treaty with the English parliament, and sent them a full account of all these particulars [u].

A far more important discovery was at the same time revealed to them; Antrim's papers clearly showed that the king kept up a close correspondence with the Irish rebels; that he had several times received their requests and

[u] Malcolm Laing, Hist. of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 256.

proposals, and that he was on the point of concluding a truce with them, hoping that the most favourable results would ensue for the next campaign[x]. These hints revealed the truth: Charles, though he outwardly cursed her, when he addressed the English, had for a long time been engaged in secret negotiations with rebellious Ireland[y]. The war, which the rebellion had kindled in this unhappy country, had continued without intermission, but to no purpose. Ten or twelve thousand soldiers, ill paid and rarely recruited, were not enough to subdue it, though sufficient to prevent it from throwing off the yoke of England. In the month of February, 1642, before the explosion of the civil war, the house had made a great effort to conquer Ireland; a loan was proposed, sufficient to cover the whole expense of a decisive expedition; and the estates of the rebels, which future confiscations would be sure to award to the crown, had been designed beforehand for the repayment of this loan[z]. Several large sums had been collected, and some assistance sent to Dublin; but the civil war broke out; the parliament, overwhelmed with its own affairs, thought only occasionally and at long intervals, of Ireland, and then without vigour or connection, merely to calm

[x] Malcolm Laing, Hist. of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 256.

[y] His correspondence with lord Ormond leaves no doubt of it; Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. iii. passim; Mr. Brodie has skilfully collected the proofs of this in his Hist. of the British Empire, vol. iii. p. 459, in the note.

[z] May, Hist. of the Long Parl., vol. i. p. 296, in the Collection.

the complaints of the protestants of that kingdom when they became too clamorous, and particularly to throw all the blame of their misfortunes upon the king. Charles, like the parliament, paid no more attention, nor sacrificed any thing to their interests; and while he reproached the house of having appropriated to their own use several sums which were destined for their cause, he himself intercepted convoys which were to supply them with provisions, and even took the powder and arms, of which they were so much in need, out of the arsenals of Dublin [a]. Still the principal protestants in Ireland, aristocratic by their situation, were attached to episcopacy and the crown; the army reckoned among its officers a great number of those whom parliament had been anxious to remove as cavaliers; the earl of Ormond their general was rich, brave, generous, and popular; he gained two battles against the rebels [b], and gave the king the honour of his success. The parliamentary party had rapidly declined in Ireland; those magistrates who were still inclined for it were replaced by royalists: the parliament, to regain some of their lost power, if possible, sent over two members of the commons as commissioners [c]; but Ormond forbade them to enter the council, and at the end of four months he felt

[a] Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. ii. appendix p. 3 and 5.

[b] The battles of Kilrush and Ross, April 15th, 1642, and March 19th, 1643.

[c] Godwin and Reynolds, in the autumn of 1642.

himself powerful enough to oblige them to return to England[d]. All the military and civil power was from that time in the hands of the king, who, being relieved from an importunate though inefficient superintendence, did not hesitate to follow the design to which his inclination and troubles invited him. The queen had not ceased to keep up a correspondence with the Irish catholics, a fact of which her husband could not be ignorant; the insurrection was no longer, as when it first began, the outrageous fury of a savage mob; a sovereign council, residing at Kilkenny[e], governed it with prudence and regularity; more than once already this council had addressed affectionate counsels to the king, entreating him no longer to persecute, for the pleasure of his enemies, faithful subjects whose only desire was to please him. Charles did not yet think his danger was so great, nor that he could be justified in so totally casting off all regard for the opinion of his people as to accept openly such an alliance; but he thought he might at least show some favour to the Irish, and recall to England the troops who fought against them in his name, to employ them against more odious and dangerous rebels. Ormond received orders to open negotiations to this purpose with the council of Kilkenny[f]; and in the mean time, to give as a reason, or at least

[d] In February, 1643. [e] Since the 14th of November 1642.

[f] Ormond's commission was dated January 11th, 1643; the negotiations begun in the course of the month of March following.

to prepare the excuse of necessity, nothing was talked of but the distress, indeed very real, to which the protestant cause and its defenders were reduced in Ireland. In a long and pathetic remonstrance, addressed to the council of Dublin, the army exposed all their misery, and declared their resolution of forsaking a service of which they could no longer discharge the duties. Memorials sent to Oxford and London conveyed the same complaint and the same declaration to the king and to the house[g]. Yet the negotiations proceeded; at the time Antrim was arrested they were indeed nearly concluded; and towards the end of September, a few days after that on which the house had solemnly accepted at Westminster the covenant with Scotland, all England heard that the king had just signed a truce of a year with the Irish[h], that the English troops who fought against the rebels were recalled, and that ten regiments would shortly land, five at Chester and five at Bristol[i].

A violent clamour rose on all sides; the Irish were to the English objects of contempt, aversion, and terror. Even among the royalists, and within the very walls of Oxford, discontent was openly manifested. Several officers left lord Newcastle's army, and submitted to parliament[k]. Lord Holland returned to London, saying, that

[g] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 537 and following.

[h] The truce was signed on September 5th, 1643, at Sigginstown in the county of Kildare.

[i] Godwin, Hist. of the Commonwealth, vol. i. p. 279.

[k] Whitelocke, p. 73.

the papists decidedly prevailed at Oxford, and that his conscience did not allow him to remain there any longer[l]. The lords Bedford, Clare, Paget, Sir Edward Dering, and several others, followed his example, using the same pretext, to conceal their inconstancy or their cowardice[m]. The parliament did not show themselves very particular on the score of repentance. The king's conduct was the subject of many invectives and sarcasms among the people; his recent protestations were remembered, and the haughty tone of his apologies, when complaints had been made of the intelligence between the court and the rebels. The parliament congratulated themselves on having so judiciously foreseen these secret transactions, and the highest indignation was shown that the king should have flattered himself he could thus impose upon his people, and hope for the success of such gross dishonesty. Matters became worse when it became known that a considerable number of Irish papists were among the troops recalled; and that even women, armed with long knives, had been seen in their ranks[n]. The king, then, it was said, not satisfied with delaying to avenge the massacre of the Irish protestants, has enlisted in his service some of its murderous perpetrators, to employ them against the English protestants. Even many people, of a condition superior to the passionate

[l] Whitelocke, p. 73.

[m] Ibid. p. 75; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 189-297.

[n] Whitelocke, p. 71-77.

prejudices of the multitude, from that time bore a profound hatred to the king, some because of his duplicity, others on account of his favour to odious papists; and his name, which had hitherto been respected, was often afterwards mentioned with insult.

Charles was soon informed of this general indignation, and of the endeavours of parliament to fan the flame. His anger and displeasure were very great; he regarded it as an insult that any one should dare to judge him by his actions instead of his words. He sent for Hyde, and said to him, "It is doing too much honour to those rebels at Westminster to treat them as though they still formed a part of parliament; as long as they continue to assemble within those walls they will usurp its power. The decree by which I promised never to dissolve them without their own consent, is, I am told, void; for I dare not thus abolish the prerogatives of the crown: I will at last use them. Let a proclamation be prepared, whereby it shall be declared that from this moment both houses are dissolved, and that it is expressly forbidden that they should assemble, and that any one should acknowledge or obey them." Hyde listened with astonishment and anxiety; for the mere idea of such a measure appeared to him insanity. "I see," he replied, "that your majesty has deeply considered this question; it is quite new to me, and it requires the most serious investigation: I shall only say that I do not understand how your

'majesty's prohibition can prevent one man from going to Westminster as usual; and yet this declaration will not fail to excite all over the kingdom the greatest disaffection. It may be that the decree of which your majesty speaks is void, and I am inclined to think it is so; but as long as the parliament themselves shall refuse to declare this, no judge, no private citizen, would dare to uphold such an opinion. Now it has been often said that this was, in fact, the secret intention of your majesty; that, in the name of the same right, you nourished the hope of one day counteracting all the decrees of this same parliament; and this report alone, which you have always so carefully disowned, has already often been hurtful to the interest of your majesty; what, then, will it be when a proclamation, powerless in itself, will show how well founded are all these suspicions? I conjure your majesty to reflect seriously before you carry this design any further[o]."

Nearly all the members of the council, as soon as they heard how frankly Hyde had spoken to the king, were of his opinion. Notwithstanding his haughty demeanour, Charles was in fact wavering and timid in the midst of them; objections perplexed him, and he usually conceded, not knowing what to answer, or how to put an end to a discussion which displeased him, even among his own councillors. After a few days of more apparent, than real hesitation,

[o] Clarendon, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 246.

the project was abandoned. Yet some great measure seemed necessary, if it were only to keep the royalist party on the alert, and not to let the parliament in the interval between the campaigns, have the advantage of engrossing the impatient activity of minds. Some one proposed, that since the name of parliament exercised such an influence over the people, all those members, who had forsaken Westminster, should be assembled at Oxford, and thus oppose to a factious and incomplete parliament, a legal and regular parliament, seeing that the king would be present in it. This proposal did not please Charles; even a royalist parliament would have been suspicious and troublesome to him; he should be obliged to listen to their counsels, to be guided by their influence, and perhaps to condescend to desires for peace, which could not be consistent with the honour of the throne. The queen's opposition was still greater; an English assembly, whatever might be its zeal for the royal cause, could not fail to be opposed to the catholics, and her favourites. Yet when the proposal was once known, it was difficult to repel it; the royalist party, had received it with transport; even the council strongly urged the advantages to be derived from the subsidies which this new parliament could vote to the king, and the disrepute it would naturally throw on that at Westminster, when it should come to be known how many members had forsaken it. Charles yielded notwithstanding his ob-

jections: and such was the disposition of minds, that the intention of dissolving a mutinous parliament, only led to the formation of a second [p].

This, at first, caused some little anxiety in London; it was known that the royalist party were, at the same time, renewing their attempts in the city; that it was proposed to form a treaty of peace with the citizens, without the intervention of parliament, that the principal articles of the negotiation were already agreed upon, amongst others the acknowledgment of loans made in the city, of which the house did not pay the interest, but for which the king readily offered sufficient securities [q]. Out of London another plot was also discovered, formed, it is said, by the moderate, and a few independents, to prevent the invasion of the Scots, and to shake off at any rate the yoke of the presbyterians [r]. Finally, the commons had to lament the loss of one of their oldest, and perhaps one of their most useful leaders: Pym had just expired, after a few days illness [s]; a man of a less brilliant reputation than Hampden, but who had rendered services no less important to the house, both by his counsels and public actions; steadfast, patient, and clever; skilful in the prosecution

[p] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 4; Parl. Hist. vol. iii. col. 194. The royal proclamation by which the parliament was assembled at Oxford, was issued on the 22nd of December, 1643.

[q] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 196; Milton, Hist. of England, book iii. vol. ii. p. 40, folio edition, Prose Works, London, 1738.

[r] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 200; Whitelocke, Memorials, etc. p. 75.

[s] December 8th, 1643.

of an opponent, in directing a debate or an intrigue, in exciting the anger of the people, and in persuading or retaining in his cause those lords who apppeared wavering[t]; an indefatigable member of most of the committees, the common framer of all decisive measures, ever ready to enter upon affairs which were considered difficult or dreaded by others, in short, utterly regardless of labour, trouble, wealth, or glory, he placed his whole ambition in the success of his party. A short time before his illness, he published an apology for his conduct, particularly addressed to the friends of order and peace, as if he had felt some regret for the past, and feared that the blame of what he foresaw would follow, would be attributed to him[u]. But like Hampden, death spared him the painful task of retracting his opinion, or belying the principles of his life; and far from pointing out these slight tokens of indecision in the last days of this veteran of national reform, the men who intended to carry it into a revolution, Cromwell, Vane, Haslerig, were the first to show honour to his memory. Pym's body remained for several days exposed to public view, either to gratify the wish of the people, or to contradict a report spread by the royalists, that he died of the pedicular disease; a committee were charged to inquire into the state of his fortune, and to erect a monument to

[t] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 88.

[u] See Explanatory and Historical Documents at the end of this volume, No. J.

his memory in Westminster abbey; the whole house attended his funeral, and a few days after they agreed to pay his debts, amounting to 10,000*l.* all having been contracted for the service of his country[x].

At the same time that the commons adopted these resolutions, a deputation from the common council was sent to the peers to return thanks to both houses for their energy, and the lord general for his courage, to renew before them the oath of living and dying in their holy cause, and at the same time to invite them to a solemn dinner, as a token of their faithful adherence[y].

The parliament regained confidence. On the day on which the assembly at Oxford[z] were to meet, the whole house was summoned to meet at Westminster: only twenty-two lords sat in the upper house, but in the commons two hundred and eighty members attended, and a hundred more were absent, in the service and on account of parliament[a]. They resolved not to allow their rights to be put in question, but contemptuously to refuse any connection with the rival house, set up in opposition. An opportunity for displaying this resolution, was soon offered them. A week had scarcely elapsed,

[x] Parl. Hist. vol. iii. col. 186; Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 84.

[y] January 13th, 1644; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 187, 198; Whitelocke, p. 76.

[z] January 22nd, 1644.

[a] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 199; Whitelocke, Memorials, etc. p. 76.

when Essex, without knowing its contents, delivered a parcel to the upper house, which the earl of Forth, the general of the king's army, had just forwarded to him. A committee were appointed to examine its contents, their report was prompt and brief; the parcel they said, contained nothing which was addressed to either house, and the lord general had nothing to do but to send it back. Essex immediately obeyed [b].

It was indeed to him alone that this despatch was addressed. Forty-five lords, and one hundred and eighteen members of the commons [c], assembled at Oxford, informed him of their installation, of their wishes for peace, of the king's favourable dispositions, and pressed him to employ his influence with "those whose confidence he possessed," to dispose them also in favour of peace [d]. By these words were designated the houses of Westminster, whom Charles persisted in no longer acknowledging as a parliament.

[b] February, 1644, Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 201.

[c] The prince of Wales and the duke of York were at the head of this list, to which were afterwards added five lords, and twenty-three members of the commons, who were not at Oxford when the letter was sent. There were in addition to these, two lords absent on the king's business, nine travelling on the continent, two in prison as royalists in London, and thirty-four members of the commons absent on the king's service, or detained by sickness; in all eighty-three lords, and one hundred and sixty-five members of the commons, composed the Oxford parliament. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. col. 218.

[d] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 209.

On the 18th of February, Essex received another letter; the earl of Forth requested a safeguard for two gentlemen, whom he said the king wished to send to London with instructions relative to peace. "My lord," replied Essex, "if your request is for a safeguard for these two gentlemen, to go as messengers from the king, to the two houses of parliament, I will, with all my heart, do all in my power to contribute to that which all good people wish, the re-establishment of a good understanding between his majesty, and his faithful and only council, the parliament[d]."

Charles was glad to find his adversaries so obstinate, as his party thereby, at last would be reduced to place all its hope in war. But the assembly at Oxford were not led away by a vain pride; they felt they had but little strength, were doubtful of their own right, they had not even dared to take the name of parliament, and they regretted in their hearts, that the king, by refusing to bestow this name on the house at Westminster, should have thrown such an obstacle in the way of peace. They insisted upon his making another trial, and granting some concession that should be likely to dispose men's minds in his favour. Charles agreed to write to the house to propose a negotiation, and he addressed his letter; "To the lords and commons assembled at Westminster," but in his

[d] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 212.

letter he also mentioned the lords and commons assembled at Oxford as their equals[e]. An envoy sent by Essex conveyed the answer of the house to the king: it said, "When we consider the expressions of your majesty's letter, we have more sad and despairing thoughts of obtaining peace than ever, because thereby, those persons now assembled at Oxford, who, contrary to their duty, have deserted your parliament, are put into an equal condition with it. And this present parliament, convened according to the known and fundamental laws of the kingdom, the continuance whereof is established by a law consented to by your majesty, are denied even the name of a parliament. We cannot thus betray the honour of the country entrusted to our care; we must in duty, and accordingly are resolved, with our lives and fortunes, to defend and preserve the just rights and full power of this parliament[f]."

The assembly at Oxford now lost all hope of conciliation, and this time forward seem to have had no object or aim. They continued nevertheless to sit till the 16th of April, publishing long and doleful declarations, voting a few taxes and loans[g], addressing bitter reproaches to the Westminster parliament, and giving numerous marks of fidelity to the king; but they were

[e] March 3rd, 1644; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 213.

[f] March 9th, 1644; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 214.

[g] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 225; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., col. 7. p. 69 sqq.

timid, inactive, perplexed with their own weakness, and to preserve at least some show of dignity, they carefully displayed in presence of the court, their anxious desire for legal order and peace. The king, who had dreaded the influence of these counsellors, soon found them as troublesome as useless; the members themselves were tired of their solemn sittings, without any aim or business. Charles, after many protestations of ruling his conduct by their wishes, pronounced their adjournment[h]; and scarcely were the doors of the hall, in which they had met closed, when he sent to the queen congratulating himself upon being at last "rid of this mongrel parliament, the haunt of cowardly and seditious motions[i]."

The campaign, now about to commence, seemed to announce itself under very inauspicious circumstances. Notwithstanding the inaction of the two principal armies during the winter, war had been carried on with advantage to parliament in the other parts of the kingdom. In the north-west, the regiments recalled from Ireland, after six weeks success, had been beaten under the walls of Nantwich, in the county of Chester, and almost entirely destroyed by Fairfax[k]. In the north, the Scots, under the command of Leven, had entered the kingdom[l]; lord

[h] April 16th, 1644; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 243-247.

[i] Thus he spoke of them, in a letter addressed to the queen, dated March 13th, 1645; Ludlow, Memoirs.

[k] January 25th, 1644; Fairfax, Memoirs, p. 384 in the Collection.

[l] January 19th, 1644.

Newcastle set forward to meet them and check their career; but in his absence, Fairfax had defeated a numerous body of royalists at Selby[m]; and to secure the important place of York from an attack, Newcastle had found himself obliged to remain there[n]. In the east another army of fourteen thousand men, had been formed under the command of Cromwell and lord Manchester, and was nearly ready to march to any part to which they might be summoned. In the south, near Alresford in Hampshire, Sir William Waller had gained an unexpected victory on Sir Ralph Hopton[o]. A few advantages obtained by prince Rupert, in the counties of Nottingham and Lancaster[p], but poorly counterbalanced so many losses. The want of discipline, and the disorder in the royalist camp daily increased; the honest were sad and dispirited; the others claimed licentiousness as the privilege of courage without virtue; the king's authority over his military leaders, and that of the leaders over the soldiers daily decreased. In London, on the contrary, all measures became suddenly more regular and spirited; complaints had often been made that the parliament did not act with promptitude, that none of its measures could be kept secret,

[m] April 11th, 1644; Fairfax, Memoirs.

[n] April 19th, 1644; Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 620.

[o] March 29th, 1644.

[p] On March the 22nd, he abandoned the siege of Newark, and in the month of April following, he took Papworth, Bolton, and Liverpool in Lancashire.

and that the king was immediately informed of every thing that took place; under the name of a committee of the two kingdoms, a council composed of seven lords, fourteen members of the cummons, and four Scottish commissioners, were vested with an absolute power over the war, the relations between the two kingdoms, correspondence with foreign states, etc.[q]. So great was the enthusiasm in some families that they denied themselves a meal a week, to give the value of it to parliament; an ordinance converted this retrenchment into a compulsory tax, for the inhabitants of London and its environs[r]. Excise duties, of which the very name was till now unknown, were imposed upon wine, beer, tobacco, and several other commodities[s]. The committee of sequestration were more rigorous than ever[t]. At the beginning of the campaign, the parliament maintained five armies; that of the Scots, and those under the command of Essex and Fairfax, at the expense of the public treasury, and those of Manchester and Waller, by local contributions, collected weekly in certain counties, which were also charged to recruit them[u]. These forces

[q] February 16th, 1644; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 247; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 77 in the Collection.

[r] March 26th, 1644; Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 748.

[s] May 26th, 1643, and July 8th, 1644; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 114, 276.

[t] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 174, 257; Rushwortn, part 3, vol. ii. p. 760.

[u] The seven confederate counties of the east, Essex, Suffolk, Nor-

amounted to more than fifty thousand men and they were placed under the orders of the committee of the two kingdoms.

Notwithstanding the presumption which prevailed at Oxford a great anxiety was soon manifested: all were astonished that they no longer received any exact information of what was going on in London, and that the designs of parliament were kept so secret; all they could learn was that great preparations were making, that power was concentrated in the hands of the boldest leaders, that they talked of decisive measures, and, in a word, that every thing wore a bad aspect for the royal cause. All at once a report was received that Essex and Waller were on the way to besiege Oxford. The queen, who was within two months of her confinement, declared that she would no longer remain there; in vain did a few members of the council ven-

folk, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Lincoln, and Ely, were taxed at 8,445*l.* a week, for the maintenance of Manchester's army. The four counties in the south, Southampton, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, paid 2,638*l.* a week, for the maintenance of Waller's army. Essex's army cost the public treasury 30,504*l.* a month; the Scottish army 31,000*l.* a month. I could not find out the exact amount of what was paid to Fairfax's army; every thing shows that it was more irregularly paid than the others, and perhaps in part by local contributions, and in part by parliament. Fairfax, Memoirs, p. 384 in the Collection; Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 621-654.

* The Scottish army was composed of twenty-one thousand men; that of Essex, of ten thousand five hundred; that of Waller, of five thousand one hundred; that of Manchester, of fourteen thousand; and that of Fairfax, of from five to six thousand; in all about fifty-six thousand men. Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 603, 621, 654; Fairfax, Memoirs.

ture to lament the unfavourable effect of such a resolution; in vain did Charles himself express a wish that she should change her design; the very idea, she said, of being shut up in a besieged town was insupportable to her, and she should die if she were not allowed to retire towards the west to some place where she might be delivered in safety, far from the seat of war, and from whence she could embark for France in case of urgent danger. The slightest objection threw her into a violent passion; she wept, she entreated; no one any longer insisted. Exeter was chosen for the place of her sojourn; and towards the end of April she left her husband, who never saw her again[y].

The news which had caused her so much terror was not without foundation; Essex and Waller were indeed advancing to besiege Oxford. On the other hand, Fairfax, Manchester, and the Scots were to meet under the walls of York, and together lay siege to that city. Thus were these two cities and the two great royalist armies, that of the king and of lord Newcastle, attacked at once by all the forces of parliament. Such was the bold and simple plan that the committee of the two kingdoms had just adopted.

Towards the end of May, Oxford was almost entirely surrounded; the king's troops, driven from every post they occupied in the neighbourhood, had been obliged to retire, some into the

[y] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 112.

town, others towards the north, the only direction in which the enemy had left a space without the walls. No assistance could arrive in time; prince Rupert was in Lancashire; prince Maurice besieging the port of Lyme in Dorsetshire; lord Hopton was at Bristol, occupied in preventing any intercourse between that important place and the enemy. A reinforcement of ten thousand men of the London militia enabled Essex to complete the blockade of the place. The peril seemed so urgent that one of the king's most faithful councillors advised him to give himself up at once into the hands of Essex. The king, indignant at the proposal, replied, "It is possible that I may some day be found in the hands of the earl of Essex, but it shall never be alive." A report was circulated in London, that not knowing how to escape, the king had formed the resolution of either coming unexpectedly into the city, or putting himself under the protection of the general. The alarm of the commons was as great as the king's indignation had been. They immediately wrote to Essex, "My lord, we are credibly informed that his majesty intends to come for London. We desire you, that you will do your endeavour to inform yourself of the same; and if you think that his majesty intends at all to come to the armies, that you acquaint us with the same; and do nothing therein until the houses shall give direction." Essex understood the suspicions which lurked under these words. He answered: "I am entirely ignorant

how the report arose that his majesty intends to go to London; I shall do my best to discover its origin; but London is the place where most can be learnt on this subject, for not a word of it has been spoken in this army. If I hear that his majesty has any intention of going to the parliament or coming to the army, I will immediately inform you of it; but I cannot conceive that there is the slightest reason to believe it; and at any rate I should, I think, be the last who would hear it talked of[z]."

A very different and more certain report surprised the parliament and the army; the king had escaped from them. On the 3rd of June, at nine o'clock in the evening, followed by the prince of Wales, and leaving the duke of York and all the court in the place, he had left Oxford, had passed between the two camps of the enemy, and, having joined a body of light troops on the north side of the town, speedily put himself beyond their reach[a].

The astonishment was great, and the necessity of an immediate resolution evident. The siege of Oxford was now no longer of any importance; the two armies had nothing to attempt against each other; the king, being at liberty, would soon become formidable; it was particularly important to prevent his joining prince Rupert.

[z] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 266; the letter of the House to Essex, is dated May 15th, 1644, and his answer is of the 17th of May.

[a] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 129; Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 67.

Essex assembled a great council of war, and proposed that Waller, who was not so encumbered with heavy artillery, should follow the king, while he himself should march towards the west to raise the siege of Lyme, and submit the country to the power of parliament. Waller opposed this design; this was not, he said, the destination which the committee of the two kingdoms had assigned for the two armies; in case they should be obliged to separate; it was to him that the command in the west was to be given. The council of war were of the same opinion as the commander-in-chief; Essex haughtily demanded obedience; Waller did obey, and even began to move without any further delay, but he addressed bitter complaints to the committee on the contempt with which the earl had treated his counsels [b].

The committee were greatly offended, and directly took the question before the commons; and after a debate of which there remains no record, an order was expedited to Essex to return from whence he came, and to go in pursuit of the king, while Waller advanced alone in the west, as he should have done before [c].

The earl had begun the campaign in no very agreeable mood; his enemies, who had been intimidated for awhile by their perils and his victories, had, during the winter, again given vent

[b] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 131; Whitelocke's Memorials, etc., p. 86.

[c] Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 672.

to their suspicions against him, and thrown a thousand obstructions in his path. A short time before his departure a popular petition had requested the reformation of his army, and the commons had received it without any manifestation of displeasure[d]; Waller's troops were always better provided for, and paid with more regularity[e]; it was evidently against him, and to take his place in case of need, that lord Manchester was forming another army[f]; his friends in London and in his camp were indignant that from Westminster men who were unacquainted with war should pretend to rule its operations and prescribe to generals how to act[g]. He answered to the committee: "Your orders are contrary to military discipline and to reason; if I should now return, it would be a great encouragement to the enemy in all places. Your innocent, though suspected servant, Essex;" and continued his march[h].

The committee were astonished; but they restrained their anger, and suspended the quarrel; Essex's enemies did not feel strong enough to ruin him, nor even to do without him; they merely inserted a few reprimands on the tone of

[d] Whitelocke, p. 76.

[e] Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 683; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 30 in the Collection.

[f] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 109.

[g] Whitelocke, Memorials, etc., p. 86.

[h] Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 683: Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 132.

his letter in the answer they sent him[i], and he received orders to go on with the expedition which the preceding message had enjoined him to relinquish[k].

The news received from Waller was not without influence in this cautious conduct. This favourite of the committee, after having vainly followed the king, was at last himself in danger. As soon as Charles learnt that the two generals of the parliamentary army had separated, and that he had but one to encounter, he stopped, wrote to prince Rupert to march without an instant's delay to the succour of York[l]; and by a bold resolution, returning by the road he had just left, he put himself at the head of his troops in a threatening attitude, and re-entered Oxford seventeen days after his departure from it. At the first report of the king's movements, Waller speedily returned, for he was left alone to intercept the passage to London; and soon after, with a few reinforcements, he advanced with his wonted confidence to offer, or, at least, to accept battle. Charles and his men, animated with that zeal which unlooked for escape from a great danger naturally inspires, were still more anxious to come to an engagement. The armies met on the 29th of June at Cropredy-bridge in

[i] Rushworth, ibid.

[k] Rushworth, ibid. Whitelocke, Memorials, p. 87.

[l] His letter is dated June 14th, 1644, from Tickenhall, near Bewdley in Worcestershire. It was published for the first time in 1819, in the Appendix to Sir John Evelyn's Memoirs, (London, 2 vols. 4to.) vol. ii. p. 87.

Buckinghamshire, and, notwithstanding a valiant resistance, Waller was defeated, even more completely than the conquerors themselves at first supposed [m].

This success appeared to inspire Charles with more boldness and skill than he had hitherto displayed. No longer in dread of Waller he suddenly resolved to march towards the west in pursuit of Essex without delay, and thus rapidly destroy those two armies which had up to this time kept him almost a prisoner. He was further prompted to this course by knowing that Essex had appeared under the walls of Exeter, while the queen, who resided there, and who had been delivered but a few days [n], was yet ignorant of her husband's success, and would again be assailed by all her fears [o]. Charles departed two days after his victory, and to conform to the wishes of the people rather than from any sincere desire for peace, he sent a letter from Evesham to both houses; in which, without giving them the name of parliament, he made a profusion of pacific protestations, and offered to open negotiations [p].

[m] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 142; Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 675.

[n] June 16th, 1644, of the princess Henrietta, afterwards duchess of Orleans.

[o] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 151; Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 686.

[p] Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 687; the message is dated July 4th, 1644.

But while he was yet on his march, and before his message reached London, all the fears of the parliament were at an end; the face of affairs suddenly changed; Waller's defeat was but an unimportant accident: the news had just arrived that their generals had obtained near York a most brilliant victory, that the town would shortly surrender, and, in a word, that in the north the royalist party was almost entirely conquered.

In fact, on the 2nd of July, between seven o'clock in the evening and ten, one of the most decisive battles that had yet taken place had been fought at Marston Moor, and had produced these important results. Three days before, at the approach of prince Rupert, who was advancing towards the north with twenty thousand men, the parliamentary generals had resolved to raise the siege, hoping that they should at least be able to prevent the prince from bringing any assistance to the place; but Rupert defeated their manœuvres, and entered York without a battle. Newcastle strongly urged him to remain satisfied with this success; discord, he said, was brooding in the camp of the enemy; the Scots were at variance with the English, the independents with the presbyterians, the lieutenant-general Cromwell with the major-general Crawford; if he wished to fight, he advised him at least to wait for a reinforcement of three thousand men, which would shortly arrive. Rupert scarcely listened to what he said; he bluntly re-

plied, that he had orders from the king[q], and commanded the troops to advance upon the enemy, who were now making their retreat. They soon reached the rear of the enemy's army; both parties stopped and prepared for battle. Though they were almost within musket-shot of each other, and only separated by two ditches, yet they passed two hours motionless and in profound silence, each waiting for the other to commence the attack. "What office does your highness allot me?" asked lord Newcastle of the prince. "I do not intend to begin the action before to-morrow," replied Rupert, "therefore you may retire till then." Newcastle went and shut himself up in his carriage. He was scarcely seated therein, when the report of a volley of musket-shot announced that the battle was beginning; he immediately hastened, without any command, to the scene of action, and put himself at the head of a few gentlemen, who, like himself, had been offended, and served as volun-

[q] These orders were contained in the letter above mentioned, by which the king prescribed to him to go to the assistance of York. A long debate has been made on the question, whether this letter expressly enjoined to prince Rupert to give a battle, or whether he was left at liberty to avoid it if he choosed; this is however a puerile debate; for if Rupert as well as Newcastle had thought that no battle should have been risked, he certainly would have been to blame to obey orders given at a distance, and at random. Besides, notwithstanding what Mr. Brodie and Mr. Lingard have recently said on this subject, (Hist. of the British Empire, etc., vol. iii. p. 447; Hist. of England, vol. x. p. 252), the king's letter is far from containing a positive order; it is evidently written in the idea that the siege of York could not be raised without a battle, and it is in that sense that it expresses a victory to be indispensable.

teers. In a few moments the field was in the most dreadful confusion; the two armies met, broke into each other's ranks, and mixed at random; parliamentarians and royalists, cavalry and infantry, officers and soldiers wandered about the field, alone or in companies, asking for orders, seeking their division, and fighting when they met with the enemy, but all without any result or general design. The right wing of the parliamentarians was suddenly routed; the Scottish cavalry, seized with fear and their ranks broken by a vigorous charge from the royalists, took to flight; Fairfax vainly sought to rally them; the Scots fled in all directions, crying, "Bad luck to us! we are undone!" and they spread the news of their defeat so rapidly through the country, that a messenger bore it from Newark to Oxford, where bonfires were lit on the occasion. But when they returned from the pursuit, the royalists, to their great surprise, found the ground they had previously occupied in the possession of the enemy; while the Scottish cavalry were flying before them, their right wing, although commanded by Rupert in person, had undergone the same fate; after a violent conflict, they had given up to the invincible obstinacy of Cromwell and his regiments; Manchester's infantry completed their defeat; and satisfied with having dispersed the prince's horse, Cromwell had skilfully rallied his own troops and returned immediately to the field to make sure of the victory ere he began to rejoice.

After a short hesitation, the two victorious parties again joined battle, and at ten o'clock not a single royalist remained on the field, except three thousand slain and sixteen-hundred prisoners[r].

Rupert and Newcastle returned to York, during the night, without speaking to, or even seeing each other; as soon as they arrived, they reciprocally addressed a message to each other. The prince wrote to the earl, "I have resolved to depart in the morning with my cavalry and what remains of the infantry;" and the earl's communication to him was, "I am going directly to the sea-side, in order to depart for the continent." Both did as they had said; Newcastle embarked at Scarborough, Rupert marched towards Chester, with the remains of his army, and York capitulated in a fortnight[s].

The joy and hope of the independents was now raised to the highest pitch; it was their chiefs and their soldiers that had gained this brilliant success; Cromwell's skill had decided the victory; for the first time the royalist cavalry had been defeated by theirs, and they were the saints of the army, Cromwell's cavaliers. As well as their general, they had been surnamed *Ironsides*

[r] Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 631-640; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 153-166; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 139-142 in the Collection; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 20-24 ibid.; Fairfax, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 391-395 ibid.; Hutchinson, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 437 ibid.; Whitelocke, p. 89; Carte's Letters, vol. i. p. 56; Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. p. 36, 40.

[s] July 16th, 1644; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 156.

on the field of battle. Prince Rupert's own standard, publicly exposed at Westminster, attested their triumph [t]; and they might have sent to parliament more than a hundred flags taken from the enemy, if in their enthusiasm they had not tore them in pieces to decorate their hats and arms [u]. Essex had conquered twice, but as if by constraint, only to save the parliament on the brink of annihilation, and with no other effect; the saints sought the battle, and were not afraid to conquer. Could the Scots, after having shown themselves so weak in this great day, any longer expect to retain them in submission to their presbyterian tyranny? Could peace be any longer urged as a necessity? Victory and liberty were the only necessities; these, at whatever price, must still be obtained to effect that blessed reform so many times endangered by interested or pusillanimous men, and so many times saved by the hand of the Lord. Such was the language which was now everywhere to be heard; independents, libertines, or fanatics, citizens, preachers, or soldiers, all gave vent to their enthusiasm and their wishes; the name of Cromwell was everywhere associated with their speeches, he himself indulging in them with more vehemence than any one, while he was on

[t] In the middle of this standard there was a lion couchant, behind him a mastiff appeared to be biting him, and from the mastiff's mouth floated a strip, on which was written, *Kimbolton;* around him were little dogs, and over them was written, *Pym, Pym, Pym;* from the lion's own jaws proceed these words: *quousque tandem abuteris patientia nostra?* Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 635. [u] Ibidem.

all sides considered as the most skilful in the contrivance of deep designs. "My lord," said he one day to Manchester, in whom the party still reposed confidence, "be decidedly one of us; say no more that measures must be taken to obtain peace, that the house of lords must be spared, the refusal of parliament be feared; what have we to do with peace and the nobility? nothing will go on right till you are plainly called Mr. Montague; if you attach yourself to honest folk, you will soon be at the head of an army that will dictate laws to the king and parliament too[x]."

Notwithstanding his audacious hopes, Cromwell himself knew not how near the triumph of his party was, nor what an unhappy lot would shortly be that of the adversary whom he considered most formidable.

Essex had advanced further and further in the west, encouraged by little victories, and ignorant of the dangers which were gathering behind him. In three weeks he had raised the siege of Lyme, taken Weymouth, Barnstaple, Tiverton, Taunton, and dispersed, almost without a battle, the royalists who attempted to stop him. As he approached Exeter, the queen sent to him to request a safe-conduct to escort her to Bath, where she wished to go to recover her health after her late delivery. "If your majesty," he

[x] Hollis, Memoirs, p. 25 in the Collection; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 253.

replied, "likes to go London, not only will I give you a guard for your safety, but I will accompany you myself; there you will receive the best advice, and the most efficacious cares for the re-establishment of your health; for any other place, I cannot grant your request without instructions from the parliament[y]." Siezed with fear, the queen fled to Falmouth, where she embarked for France[z], and Essex continued his march. He was still in sight of Exeter when he heard that the king had defeated Waller, and was rapidly advancing in pursuit of him with all the forces he could muster. A council of war was immediately called, and the question debated whether it was best to go on and seek refuge in Cornwall, or return and meet the king and offer him battle. Essex advised the last; but several of the officers, among others lord Roberts, the friend of Sir Harry Vane, possessed large estates in the county of Cornwall, of which the rents for a long time had not been paid, and they had depended upon this expedition to obtain payment from their tenants; they therefore opposed any idea of returning, maintaining that the people of Cornwall, oppressed as they were by the royalists, would rise up in arms at the approach of the army, and that Essex would thus have the honour to take from the king this county, which had been till then his firmest sup-

[y] Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 684: Whitelocke. p. 88.

[z] July 14th, 1644.

port[a]. Essex allowed himself to be persuaded; he sent for reinforcements from London, and marched into the defiles of Cornwall. The people did not rise in his favour, provisions were scarce, and the king was already close upon him. He wrote again to London, representing the danger of his situation, and to say that it was absolutely necessary that Waller or some other should fall on the rear of the king's army, to give him a chance of escape. The committee of the two kingdoms made a great talk of his misfortune, and testified a great zeal to help him; public prayers were read for him[b]; orders to go to his assistance were given to Waller, Middleton, and even to Manchester, who had returned from the north with a portion of his army; these in their turn displayed the most eager zeal: "Let money and men be sent to me," wrote Waller, "God is witness that it is not my fault if I do not advance more quickly; may shame and the blood that is spilt fall on the heads of those who detain me. If no money is sent to me I will go without;" yet he did not move. Middleton held the same discourse; he set forward, but stopped at the first obstacle. No part of Manchester's army left him[c]. The independent leaders, Vane, St. John, Ireton, Cromwell, were delighted to obtain by a signal defeat the ruin of their enemy.

[a] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 168; Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 690.

[b] August 13th, 1644; Rushworth, part 3, p. 697.

[c] Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 143 in the Collection,; Whitelocke, Memorials, etc. p. 97.

They did not imagine that at that very moment perhaps, Essex, in his distress, held their destiny in his hands. On the 6th of August a letter from the king was delivered to him at his head-quarters at Lestwithiel, full of promises and professions of esteem, urging him to give peace to his country. Lord Beauchamp, the earl's nephew, was the bearer of this message; several colonels in his army seemed inclined in its favour[d]. "I shall make no answer," said Essex, "I have only one counsel to give the king, and that is, to return to his parliament." Charles did not insist any further; perhaps even, notwithstanding the disaster of Marston Moor, he did not sincerely wish for the intervention of such a mediator; but peace, in the people about him, had more zealous partizans; the spirit of independence and examination diffused itself even among the royalists; the king's name no longer exercised the empire it formerly did over them; and in their meetings, many officers freely spoke on public affairs and on the king's will. Convinced that Essex's reason for refusing to negotiate, was that the king's promises did not appear to him a sufficient guarantee, they resolved to offer him theirs, and to invite him to confer personally with them. Lord Wilmot and lord Percy, commanders of the cavalry and artillery, were at the bottom of this design; the first was bold and able, an indefatigable drinker, and beloved

[d] Among others colonel Weare and colonel Butler; Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 710.

in the army for the jovial affability of his temper; the other was cold and haughty, but bold in speech, and kept a good table, at which many of the officers ever found a welcome. Charles, informed of their proceedings, and of the project of a letter which circulated in their name, was highly displeased; yet the intention pleased even those men who condemned the means employed. The king, not daring to forbid it, was obliged to approve of it; the letter became an official act, authorised by him and signed by prince Maurice and the earl of Brentford, the general-in-chief of the army, as well as by its first authors; a messenger conveyed it to the camp of the enemy[e]. Essex replied, "My lords, in the beginning of your letter you express by what authority you send it; I have received no authority from the parliament, who have employed me, to negotiate; and cannot give way to it without breach of trust. My lords, I am your very humble servant, Essex." So short and positive a denial greatly offended the royalists; all attempts to negotiate were given up; Wilmot and Percy were broken, and hostilities were renewed[f].

Essex soon found himself in a hopeless situation; he fought daily, but his dangers seemed only to increase; his soldiers were getting tired, conspiracies and disaffection prevailed in their

[e] August 9th, 1644.

[f] Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 691-697; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 170-181.

ranks[g]; the king drew his troops nearer and nearer, raising fortifications on every side; already the earl's cavalry had not space enough to collect food for their horses; he scarcely retained any free communications with the coast, the only means by which he could obtain any provisions; in short, at the latter end of August he was surrounded so closely that from the neighbouring heights the royalists could see all that passed in his camp. In this extremity, he gave orders to the cavalry commanded by Sir William Balfour to fight their way as they could through the stations of the enemy; while he set out himself with the infantry in hopes of reaching the port of Foy. Favoured by darkness and a dense fog the cavalry passed in the night between two divisions of the royalists; but the infantry, travelling in narrow and muddy roads, pursued by the whole of the king's army, and obliged to forsake at every step their artillery and baggage, at last lost all hope of escape; all spoke of capitulating. Essex, perplexed and dejected, was considering alone how he could best avoid this deep humiliation, without consulting any one, and only followed by two officers[h], suddenly went off, reached the coast, and embarked on board a vessel about to sail for Ply-

[g] Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 698.

[h] Sir John Merrick who commanded the artillery, and lord Roberts himself, who had decided Essex by his persuasions to enter Cornwall.

mouth, leaving his army under the command of Skippon, who was major-general[i].

As soon as his departure was known, Skippon called a council of war to whom he thus addressed himself: "Gentlemen, you see that our general and some of our principal leaders have thought proper to forsake us; our cavalry is gone, we are left alone to defend ourselves; this is what I propose: we have the same courage as our cavalry, the same God to protect and assist us; let us try our fortune in the same manner, let us seek a passage through the ranks of our enemies; it is better to die with honour than to run away like cowards." But Skippon's heroism was not contagious in the council; many officers in this army who were brave and faithful, but, like Essex, of the moderate or presbyterian party, were dispirited and sorrowful. The king proposed a capitulation on terms which none had dared to hope for; he only required that the artillery, arms, and ammunition, should be given up; all the men, officers and soldiers, were to retain their liberty, and were even to be conducted in safety to parliamentary quarters. These conditions were accepted[k]; and, under the escort of the royal cavalry, the parliamentarian battalions, without a general, and disarmed,

[i] Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 699-703; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 182-190; Whitelocke, p. 98.

[k] September 1st, 1644.

returned through those counties in which they had so lately passed as conquerors[l].

In the mean time, Essex landed at Plymouth, and sent an account to parliament of his disaster; he wrote: "It is the severest blow that our party has ever received; I wish for nothing more than to be brought to trial; the cause of such misfortunes should not remain concealed[m]." A week after he received from London the following reply: "My lord, the committee of the two kingdoms having communicated to both houses of parliament the letters received from your lordship, dated from Plymouth, they have commanded us to inform you that they deeply feel the extent of this misfortune, but submit to the will of God; and that their good feelings towards your lordship, and the trust they repose in you, are not in the least shaken. They have resolved to employ their most energetic efforts to repair this loss, and put under your[n] command an army which, with the blessing of God, may put our affairs into a better state. The earl of Manchester and Sir William Waller have received orders to march with all their troops towards

[l] Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 704-709; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 190-192.

[m] Essex's letter to Sir Philip Stapleton, in Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 703.

[n] In Rushworth, (part 3, vol ii. p. 708) we read: "under their command," but in the Parliamentary History the text is, "under your command," and I have adopted this as by far the most probable. The letter is dated September 7th, 1644.

Dorchester. Both houses have also given orders that six thousand muskets, six thousand uniforms, five hundred brace of pistols, etc. should be conveyed to your lordship at Portsmouth, to serve for the equipment and to reanimate the courage of your soldiers. They trust that your lordship's sojourn in that county to reorganise and put the different divisions in motion, will have the most salutary effects."

The earl was greatly astonished; he expected an impeachment, or at least that he should be severely reprimanded; but his fidelity, so recently tried, the very extent of the disaster, the necessity of imposing on the enemy, rallied the wavering among his partisans, and his adversaries had resolved to take no part in this affair. Essex, embarrassed by his fault and his misfortune, no longer appeared dangerous; they knew him, and foresaw, that to save his dignity from such violent shocks as these, he would soon of himself retire. Till he should do this, it was a proof of strength to treat him with honour; an inquiry into the real causes of his loss, which might have had an unpleasant result, was avoided; and, finally, the very partisans of peace were compelled to engage in a new effort for war. The independent leaders, as dextrous as they were passionate, remained silent, and the parliament appeared unanimous in bearing with dignity this great reverse.

Their activity, and the firmness of their attitude, at first slackened the king's proceedings;

he addressed a pacific message to them, and for three weeks he merely presented himself before a few places, Plymouth, Lyme, Portsmouth, which did not, however, surrender to him. But towards the end of September he learnt that Montrose, who had for a long time been trying to stir up civil war in Scotland, had at last succeeded, and was already gaining victory after victory. At the close of the battle of Marston Moor, Montrose, disguised as a servant, and only followed by two companions, crossed on foot the borders of Scotland, and went to Strathern, on the verge of the highlands, to Patrick Graham of Inchbrochie, his cousin, to await the landing of the Irish auxiliaries whom Antrim was to send to him. He hid himself by day, and wandered by night in the surrounding mountains, collecting in person from rendezvous to rendezvous, information respecting his confidants. The news soon reached him that the Irish troops had at last landed, and were advancing through the country, pillaging and destroying as they went, but not knowing which way to steer, and seeking everywhere the general who was to meet them. When they drew nigh to the county of Athol, Montrose appeared all at once in their camp, in the dress of a highlander, accompanied only by one man. They immediately acknowledged him as their chief. At the news of his arrival several clans came forward and joined him; without losing a moment, he led them to battle, expecting every thing from their courage,

and allowing every thing to their avidity; and in a fortnight he had gained two battles, occupied Perth, taken Aberdeen by storm, raised most of the northern clans, and spread fear and dismay to the very gates of Edinburgh.

When Charles heard this news he hoped that the disaster of Marston Moor was quite repaired, that parliament would soon find a powerful adversary in the north, and that he might himself follow up his success in the south. He resolved to march against London, and to give his expedition an appearance of popularity and decision, at the moment of his departure a proclamation was put forth, and spread in every direction, inviting all his subjects of the south and east to take up arms, choose officers for themselves, and join him on the road to London, where he was going to summon the parliament to conclude a peace [p].

But the house had taken their measures: already Manchester, Waller, and Essex's troops, were assembled, and defended London on the west side; the parliament had never had so large an army collected upon one point, and at the first report of the king's approach it was joined by five regiments of the London militia, under the command of Sir James Harrington. At the same time new taxes were imposed; the

[o] At Tippermuir, September 1st, and at Dee bridge the 12th of the same month.

[p] The proclamation is dated from Chard, September 30th, 1644; Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 715.

commons decreed that the king's plate, which had till then been deposited in the Tower, should be melted for public use. At last, when it was known that the two armies were in sight of each other, the shops were closed, a solemn fast ordained; and the people flocked to the churches to call down the blessings of the Lord on the coming battle[q].

This was now daily expected in the camp, as well as in the city: Essex alone, ill and despondent, remained inactive in London, though he still retained his command. Being informed that he did not depart, the house charged a committee to go and renew to him the assurance of their trust and affection. Essex thanked the commisioners, but did not join the army[r]. The battle was fought without him, on the 27th of October, at Newbury, almost in the same position in which he had so gloriously conquered, on his return from Gloucester, in the preceding year. Lord Manchester commanded in his absence. The action was long and obstinate; Essex's soldiers in particular performed prodigies of valour; at the sight of the cannon they had lost in Cornwall, they precipitated themselves on the royal batteries, and recovered them, embracing them in the transport of their joy. A few of Manchester's regiments suffered rather severely. For awhile both parties deemed themselves

[q] Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 719-720; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 294, 295, 308.

[r] Whitelocke, p. 103; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 295.

victorious; but early the next morning, the king, giving up his intention of advancing to London, effected his retreat, and established his winter-quarters at Oxford[s].

The parliament made no great display of their triumph; no thanksgivings were offered up, and the day after the news of the battle reached London, the monthly fast observed by parliament, took place as usual[t], as if they had no reason to rejoice. The public were astonished at so much coldness. Soon unpleasant reports were circulated; the victory, it was said, might have been far more decisive, but discord reigned among the generals; they had suffered the king to retreat without obstacle, almost in face of the army, who remained quiet spectators of his march, when the least movement on their part could have prevented it. It was much worse when the news came that the king had just reappeared in the neighbourhood of Newbury, that he had, without molestation, withdrawn his artillery from Donnington castle[u], and even offered another battle, without the army making any attempt to move. The clamour became general, the house of commons ordered an inquiry into the matter; Cromwell only waited for this opportunity to come forward: "It is to the

[s] Whitelocke, p. 103, 104; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol vii. p. 226-232; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 145-150; Parl. Hist. vol. iii. col. 296; Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 721-730.

[t] October 30th, 1644.

[u] November 9th, 1644; Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 729-732 Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 234-236.

earl of Manchester," he said, "all the blame must be imputed; ever since the battle of Marston Moor, he is afraid to conquer, afraid of a great and decisive victory; even now, when the king reappeared near Newbury, nothing would have been more easy, than entirely to destroy his army; I went to the general, I showed him how this could be done, I solicited the permission to make the attack with my own brigade of horse alone; other officers urged this with me, but he obstinately refused; he even added, that if we were entirely to disperse his army, the king would still be king, and could soon find another, while we, if we were beaten, should no longer be any thing but rebels and traitors, executed and forfeited by the law." These last words produced a great sensation in parliament; for they could not endure that a doubt should be raised on the legality of their resistance. The next day, Manchester appeared in the upper house, to repel the attack, to explain his words and conduct, and in his turn accuse Cromwell of want of discipline, of deceit, treason, and even perfidy; for on the day of the battle, he said, that neither he nor his regiment had appeared at the post assigned to them. Cromwell made no answer, but renewed his charges with more violence than before[x].

The presbyterians were greatly moved; for

[x] Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 732-736; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 297; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 150-152; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 251-254; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 37.

a long time Cromwell had excited all their fears. They had seen him at first supple and fawning with Manchester, exalting him on all occasions at the expense of Essex, and by degrees he had acquired over Manchester's army more power than he himself possessed. He had made it the refuge of the independents, of sectarians of all denominations, enemies of the king and the covenant; under his sanction a fanatical license existed in it; all talked, prayed, and even preached according to their own fancy, and without any authority so to do. In vain, to counteract Cromwell's influence, colonel Skeldon Crawford, a Scotchman and rigid presbyterian, had been appointed major-general; Crawford had only foolishly accused Cromwell of cowardice, while Cromwell, constantly occupied in finding out the faults of his adversary, in reviling him among the soldiers, in denouncing him to the people and parliament, soon rendered him incapable of doing any harm[y]. Emboldened by this success, and by the visible progress of his party, he had openly declared himself the patron of liberty of conscience, and had even obtained from the house the formation of a committee[z] charged to find out how the dissenters could be satisfied, or at least left in peace. He now attacked Manchester himself, never mentioned

[y] Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. p. 40, 41, 42, 49, 57, 60, 66, 69; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 20-22.

[z] September 13th, 1644; Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. p. 57-61; Journals of the House of Commons, September 13th

the Scots without insult, boasted of triumphing without them, and even threatened to drive them out of England if they pretended to oppress him in their turn; in a word, he carried his daring so far, as to question the authority of the throne, the lords, and of all the ancient and legal order of the country [a]. The presbyterian leaders, the moderate politicians, and the Scottish commissioners, Hollis, Stapleton, Merrick, Glynn, etc., irritated and alarmed, met at Essex's house to concert on the means of putting down so dangerous an enemy. After a long conference, they resolved to consult Whitelocke and Maynard, both of them learned lawyers, in high repute in the house, and whom they had reasons to believe favourable to their cause. They were sent for in the name of the lord-general, nearly at midnight, without being told for what purpose. They arrived rather alarmed by the hour, the manner in which they had been summoned, and the business upon which their presence could be required. After a few compliments, lord Lowden, the Scottish chancellor addressed them: "Gentlemen," said he, "you know that the lieutenant-general Cromwell is not one of our friends, and that ever since the entrance of our troops into England, he has done every thing to revile and injure us; you know also that he is no well wisher to the lord-

[a] Whitelocke, p. 111; Journals of the House of Lords, November 28th, 1644; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 253.

general, whom we and you have so many reasons to honour; in short, you are aware that according to the terms of our solemn covenant, whoever shall act the part of an incendiary must immediately be prosecuted: according to the Scottish law the term incendiary means one who sows the seed of discord, and seeks to excite dangerous feuds. We wish to know whether it has the same signification in the English law, and whether lieutenant-general Cromwell does not deserve this designation of incendiary, and in what manner, if he does indeed deserve it, we can proceed against him?"

The two lawyers looked at each other; all were waiting for their answer. After a few moments' silence, Whitelocke rose, and said: "Since no one else speaks, to show my submission to his Excellency, I shall endeavour, humbly and freely, to give my opinion on the questions which my lord the chancellor has so clearly laid before us. The word incendiary has the same signification with us, as it has in the Scottish law; but whether lieutenant-general Cromwell deserve this appellation, is what cannot be known, unless we have proofs that he has really said or done things tending to excite discord between the two kingdoms, or create disturbances amongst us. Certainly, neither you my lord-general, nor you, my lords, the Scottish commissioners, will embark in any affair, and far less in a serious charge like this,

without being certain of success. Lieutenant-general Cromwell is a man of a bold and subtle mind, and fertile in expedients; he has, particularly of late, acquired a great influence in the house of commons, nor will he lack friends or talents to defend him in the house of lords. I did not hear his Excellency, nor my lord-chancellor, nor any other person say anything, nor am I myself informed of any fact, which can prove to the house that the lieutenant-general is really an incendiary. I am very doubtful, then, whether it would be wise to accuse him as such; the proper way to proceed, I think, would be first to collect all the information concerning him; then, if your lordships think proper to summon us again, we will give our opinion, and you can decide as you please."

Maynard said much the same as Whitelocke; adding, that the word incendiary was but little used in English law, and would occasion a great deal of perplexity. But Hollis, Stapleton, and Merrick, strongly urged their project, saying, that Cromwell had not so much influence in the house as was imagined, that they would take it upon themselves to accuse him, and they related facts and words which they said clearly proved his designs. The Scottish commissioners, however, refused to engage in the struggle. Maynard and Whitelocke retired at about two in the morning, and the conference had no other result than to excite Cromwell to hasten his pro-

ceedings; for "some false brother," says Whitelocke, "probably Whitelocke himself," informed him of all that had passed [b].

Essex and his friends sought in another way to remedy the evil; all their thoughts turned towards peace. The parliament had never entirely given it up. Formal motions were sometimes brought forward, in which very few votes, sometimes that of the speaker alone, decided the fate of the country [c]; sometimes the French and Dutch ambassadors, who were continually going backwards and forwards from Oxford to London, offered their intervention, which, however, was rarely sincere, and always, though with some difficulty, eluded [d]. So many persons wished for peace, that no one dared to show themselves openly opposed to it; and not more than six months had passed since a committee, formed of the members of both houses, had been directed to frame proposals in concert with the Scottish commissioners.

[b] Whitelocke, p. 111; Wood, Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. col. 546.

[c] March 29th, 1644; on the proposal of forming a committee to examine the offers of mediation made by the ambassador of Holland, the house of commons was divided into sixty-four voices against sixty-four; the speaker voted in the negative; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 253.

[d] The Dutch ambassadors offered the intervention of the states-general on the 20th of March, the 12th of July, and the 7th of November, 1644; the count d'Harcourt, the French ambassador, who arrived in London in July, 1644, had an audience from parliament on the 14th of August, and left England in February, 1645; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 252, 253, 278, 285, 293, 298, 314; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 317-323.

All at once the presbyterian party anxiously hastened their work; in a few days the proposals were presented to both houses, debated, and adopted[e]; and on the 20th of November nine commissioners departed to present them to the king. Believing he was at Wallingford, they set out for that place; but after waiting two hours for admission, and the settling a thousand difficulties that had been raised on their mission, their safeguard, and their retinue, the governor, colonel Blake, at last received them to tell them that the king was gone, and that they would probably find him at Oxford. They wished to sleep at Wallingford, but the conversation between Blake and lord Denbigh, the president of the committee, soon became so warm, Blake's manners were so rude, and the attitude of his garrison so threatening, that they judged it prudent to retire without delay. The next day they arrived near to Oxford, and, stopping on a little hill at about five hundred paces from the town, they sent a messenger to the governor to inform him of their arrival. Some hours passed with their receiving any answer; the king, who was walking in his garden, perceiving the group on the hill, inquired who they were, and when informed, immediately sent Mr. Killigrew with orders to introduce them into the city, provide lodgings for them, and express his regret that they should have been made to wait so long.

[e] November 8th, 1644; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 299.

As they passed through the streets of Oxford, under the escort of a few cavaliers, the multitude gathered together, loaded them with insults, and even pelted them with stones and mud. At last they reached a miserable inn, but they had scarcely seated themselves when a violent tumult took place near their apartment. Hollis and Whitelocke immediately went out; some royalist officers had entered the hall, and were quarrelling with the commissioners' servants, calling them and their masters 'wretches,' 'traitors,' 'rebels,' and standing so as to prevent them coming near the fire. Hollis seized one of the officers by the collar, and roughly shaking him, pushed him out of the room, shaming him for his behaviour: Whitelocke did the same; the doors of the house were closed and locked, and the governor sent a guard to protect it. In the evening several members of the council, Hyde among others, came to see the commissioners, and made excuses for these disturbances; they manifested an extreme desire to co-operate with them in order to obtain peace, and the king sent word that he would see them the next day[f].

The audience was short: lord Denbigh read the proposals of parliament aloud, in presence of the court and the council: they were such as the king could not think himself reduced to accept; they requested that he should give up his

[f] November 2nd, 1644; Whitelocke, p. 107; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 310.

power to the mistrust of the house, and his party to their vengeance. More than once an angry murmur broke forth from those who were present; particularly when lord Denbigh mentioned that the princes Rupert and Maurice, who were present, were excluded from the amnesty, all were on the point of bursting into a loud laugh; but the king, turning round with a severe look, imposed silence on every one, and continued to listen gravely and patiently. When lord Denbigh had finished reading, the king inquired of him, "Are you authorised to treat?" "No, Sir; our mission is to present these propposals to your majesty, and to solicit a written answer." "Well," replied the king, "I will give it to you as soon as I can;" and the commissioners withdrew[g].

On the same evening, with the consent of their colleagues, Hollis and Whitelocke paid a visit to lord Lindsey, a gentleman of the chamber, and formerly their friend, whose wounds prevented him from coming to them. They had not been there a quarter of an hour when the king came in, and advancing towards them with an air of kindness, he said: "I am sorry, gentlemen, that you have not brought me more reasonable proposals." "Sir," replied Hollis, "they are such as the parliament thought fit to adopt, and I hope they will lead to a favourable settlement of all differences." The king. "I know very well that you could only bring what was

[g] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 310.

sent, but I own that some of these proposals greatly astonish me; certainly you yourselves cannot believe that it is reasonable or to my honour to grant them." Hollis. "True, Sir, I should have wished that they were not all what they are, but your majesty knows that these things are decided by the majority." The king. "I know it, and I am sure that you and your friends (I do not mean your party) have done all in your power in the house for it to be otherwise; for I know you wish for peace." Whitelocke. "I have had the honour of coming several times to your majesty in order to obtain it, and I grieve that I have not yet succeeded." The king. "I wish, Mr. Whitelocke, that all were of your and Mr. Hollis's opinion, and then, I think, we should soon see our disputes happily terminated; for my part, I also wish for peace; and to prove this to you, as well as to show you the confidence I repose in you two who are now with me, I pray you give me your advice on the answer which it is proper that I should make to these proposals, that they may lead to peace." Hollis. "Your majesty will excuse us if in our present situation we think we ought not to give you any counsel." Whitelocke. "It is by accident that we have the honour of being here in presence of your majesty; and the office with which we are now entrusted does not allow us to give advice to your majesty, even supposing that we were capable of doing so." The king. "As

to your capability, I am the judge of that. Now I do not at present consider you as members of parliament; it is as friends and private gentlemen, my faithful subjects, that I now address you, and ask for your opinion." Hollis. "As private gentlemen your majesty must think that we have acted very freely; as to your answer, the best you could give would be to return in person amongst us." The king. "How could I return to London in safety?" Hollis. "I trust your majesty could do so without any danger." The king. "It is a question; and I suppose that those who sent you require an immediate reply." Whitelocke. "The quickest and best would certainly be your majesty's presence in parliament." The king. "Let us say no more of that; allow me, Mr. Hollis and Mr. Whitelocke, to request you to go into the adjoining room to confer an instant together, and write down what in your opinion I should answer to this message, that will be most likely to conduce to the good deed of peace." Hollis. "We will obey your majesty's command."

They both went into another room; and, after some hesitation, Whitelocke, carefully disguising his handwriting, wrote down the advice the king requested of them; and leaving the paper on the table they returned again to the king. Charles then went by himself into the room which they had just left, took the paper, and came back to them, behaved very graciously, and

then withdrew. They directly returned to their lodgings, and kept all that had passed a secret from their colleagues[h].

Three days after[i] the king summoned the committee, and delivering a sealed paper to lord Denbigh, he said: "This is my answer, take it to those who sent you." Surprised at this unusual form, and to find the king so obstinate in refusing to give the name of parliament to the house, the earl begged leave to retire for awhile with his colleagues to deliberate on what they were to do. "Why should you deliberate?" said the king; "you have no power to treat, you told me so yourself when you arrived, and I know that you have received no message since." Lord Denbigh insisted, alleging that the committee might perhaps have some observations to make to his majesty. The king rather warmly replied: "Gentlemen, I will hear all that you may have to say to me from London, but none of the fancies and chimeras which you have formed at Oxford: with your permission, I will not be entrapped." "Sir," replied the earl, "we are not people to entrap any one, and far less your majesty." "I did not say that alluding to you." "Will your majesty at least allow us to inquire to whom this paper is addressed." "It is my answer, you must take it, even if it were a ballad of Robin Hood." "The

[h] Whitelocke, p. 108; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 55, etc.

[i] November 27th, 1644.

business which brought us here is of rather more importance than a ballad." "I know it; but I must repeat, you told me you had no authority to treat; my memory is as good as yours; you were only charged to deliver these proposals to me, a postilion could have done as much." "I hope your majesty does not rank us with postilions." "I do not mean that; but, once more, this is my answer; you must take it, I am not obliged to any thing more." The conversation every minute became warmer; Hollis and Pierpoint endeavoured in vain to make the king say that he addressed his message to the two chambers. The commissioners at last consented to receive it in this manner, and departed. In the evening, Mr. Ashburnham, the king's valet, came to them. He said: "His majesty has perceived that in a fit of ill temper a few words escaped him which might have given offence; he has commanded me to assure you that such was not his intention, and he wishes that you should be thoroughly convinced that it was not." The commissioners made protestations of their respectful deference to the king's words, and set out for London, followed by a messenger who was charged to receive the answer of parliament to the sealed paper of which they were the bearers[k].

[k] Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 843; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 309-312; Whitelocke, p. 110. Lord Denbigh's report and Whitelocke's narrative differ in several important points on this subject, but these differences can be easily accounted for by the official

It only contained the request of a safeguard for the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, by whom the king promised he would forward an express, and detailed answer in the course of a few days. The guard was immediately granted; and as soon as they arrived[l] the two lords had an audience[m]. They did not as yet bring any answer; their official mission was confined to the request that conferences should be opened, and negotiators named on both sides to treat for peace. After delivering this message they still remained in London; the report spread that a crowd of suspicious persons were arriving there; and several members of the two houses held frequent interviews with the two lords. The common council, in which the independents prevailed, manifested great uneasiness. The two lords were requested to depart, yet they still lingered under frivolous pretexts. The alarm increased; the passions of the people threatened to break out before the intrigues of the party could be effectually brought to an end. At last, urged even by the friends of peace, the two lords returned to Oxford[n], and three weeks after their departure, it was agreed

character of the first of these documents, which was evidently concerted among the commissioners that it might be such as would be adopted by parliament and suitable to the occasion. Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 309; May, Hist. of the Long Parl., vol. ii. p. 280, note 1.

[l] December 14th, 1644.

[m] December 16th.

[n] December 24th.

that forty commissioners, twenty-three named by the parliaments of the two kingdoms, and seventeen by the king, should meet at Uxbridge, in order to discuss regularly the conditions of a treaty [o].

But while the presbyterians prepared for peace, the independents were taking measures for war. On the 9th of December, the commons had met to take into consideration the sufferings of the country, and if possible to find out some remedy for them: No one attempted to speak; all seemed to expect some decisive measure, of which every one wished to avoid the responsibility. After a long silence, Cromwell rose, and said; "Now is the time to speak, or we must remain silent for ever." The business is no less a thing than to save a whole nation, immersed in blood, almost expiring from the deplorable state in which the long continuance of the war has reduced it. If we do not conduct this war in some more energetic, more rapid, more efficacious manner, if we act as soldiers of fortune, constantly engaged in spinning out the war, the kingdom will get tired of us, and conceive hatred for the very name of parliament. What say our enemies? nay, more; what say many who were our friends at the opening of this parliament? That the members of both houses have gained great offices and power, that

[o] Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 844-846; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 310-320; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 267.

they have the sword in their own hands, and that by their influence in parliament, and their authority in the army, they are endeavouring to perpetuate their grandeur, and that they will not put an end to war for fear their power should cease with it. What I say here of ourselves before us all, is what others say of us every where in our absence. I am far from making any allusion to any one; I know the merit of those generals, members of the commons, to whom the command is entrusted; but to discharge my conscience, I must say, that if the army be not governed in some other manner, if war is not carried on with more vigour, the people will not bear it any longer, and will drive us to agree to some ignominious peace. Let your prudence beware of raising against any of the chief commanders any accusation, any complaint, on what subject soever; I have myself many faults to acknowledge, and know how difficult it is to avoid them in war. Let us banish all idea of inquiries into the causes of the evil, and apply ourselves to seek the remedy; we have all, I hope, hearts English enough not to hesitate in sacrificing our own private interest to public good, and to take no offence at what the parliament will decide." "It is true," immediately continued another member, "that, whatever be the cause, two campaigns have passed away and we are not saved. One would think our victories valiantly purchased at the price of so much precious blood, and moreover so graciously given us by

the Lord, have been put in a sieve; what we gain at one time, we lose at another; the victories of the summer only serve for subjects of conversation in the winter: the game ends with the autumn, and at spring it begins again; as if the blood which was shed only served to fatten the field of war, and to produce a more plentiful harvest of battles. I do not want to decide anything; but the division of our forces under different leaders, and the want of harmony among them, have been very hurtful to the public good." "There is but one means of ending so many evils," said Zouch Tate, an obscure fanatic, the importance of whose proposal did not draw him from his obscurity; "which is that every one of us should freely renounce himself. I propose, that no member of either house should possess or exercise any military or civil command while this war lasts, and that an ordinance should be passed to this effect[p]."

This proposal was not entirely new; a similar idea had already been thrown out in the upper house during the previous year[q], though in a cursory manner and without any result[r]; and the commons, probably to satisfy public clamour, had even ordered an inquiry[s] into the number

[p] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 3-5; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 326; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 258; Clarendon's account is evidently inexact.

[q] December 12th, 1643.

[r] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 187.

[s] November 14th, 1644; Journals of the House of Commons.

and value of the offices of all kinds held by members of parliament. Either by design or from embarrassment the presbyterians at first hesitated to oppose the motion of Tate, and it passed without objection. But two days after, when it was again brought forward in the form of a definitive ordinance, the debate was long and violent, and renewed four times in the course of a week[t]. It was clear that the plan proposed was intended to take from the moderate politicians, from the presbyterians, from the first leaders of the revolution, all exclusive power, to confine them to the halls of Westminster, and form an army unconnected with parliament. The opposition was renewed upon every debate, and every time with more warmth. Even those who were upon good terms with the independents. showed themselves averse to this measure. "You know," said Whitelocke, "that among the Greeks and Romans the most important military and civil offices were ever intrusted to their senators: and that those alone whose interests were connected with those of the public, and who possessed a voice in civil matters, would sufficiently respect the authority of parliament, and never could be tempted to turn the sword against those by whom it was committed to them. Thus did our ancestors act; they always considered members of parliament as the most fit for the highest offices; follow their example, I

[t] December 11th, 14th, 17th, and 19th.

pray you, and do not wilfully deprive yourselves of your surest, of your most faithful servants[u]."

Others went further, and did not hesitate to accuse openly the secret ambition of their rivals. They said self-denial was talked of, but this would be the triumph of envy and personal interest[x]. The public however gave little heed to these predictions; the presbyterian party had been tried, worn out, and had lost all credit; all who did not belong to it, saw it fall without regret. Though the independents were far from possessing a majority in the house, their measure passed with triumph through all the opposition it had to encounter: in vain, as a last endeavour, did the friends of Essex request that he should be excepted from the bill; their amendment was rejected; and on the 21st of December the ordinance was definitively adopted[y]; and sent to the house of lords.

The presbyterians placed all their hopes in the house of lords; indeed its interest imperiously called upon it to reject the bill; almost every member was affected by it, and in case of its adoption all their power would be lost. But to do this would discredit and ruin them in public opinion, in which they already felt themselves weak. The leaders of the presbyterian party, to soften this impression, to free themselves from all suspicion of connivance with the

[u] Whitelocke, p. 114.

[x] Whitelocke, p. 115.

[y] December 17th, by a hundred voices against ninety-three.

court at Oxford, and to discourage the plots of the royalists, which were continually being renewed, while they sought to check the progress of revolution, offered concessions and victims to it. Four trials which had been begun some time ago, but had been suffered to languish, were now again brought forward and carried on with vigour; lord Macguire for taking part in the Irish rebellion; the two Hothams, father and son, for having planned to surrender Hull into the hands of the king; Sir Alexander Carew for a like offence in the isle of St. Nicholas, of which he was governor; and, finally, Laud, whose trial had already been several times begun and then laid aside. Macguire, the Hothams, and Carew, were guilty of recent crimes, legally proved, and which might meet with imitators; but Laud, who had been four years in prison, and who was borne down by age and infirmities, had only to answer for his concurrence in a cource of tyranny which had been conquered four years ago. As in the case of Strafford, it was impossible to prove him guilty of high treason according to any existing law. To condemn him like Strafford by a bill of attainder, the king's consent was necessary; but theological hatreds are as subtle as they are implacable. At the head of his accusers was that same Prynne whom Laud had formerly caused to be so odiously mutilated, and who in his turn was anxious to humiliate and crush his enemy. After a long trial, in which the archbishop showed more talent and

prudence than one might have expected, his condemnation was pronounced by an ordinance of both houses; it was only voted by seven lords, and was illegal, even according to the tyrannical traditions of parliament. He died with pious courage, expressing his contempt for his adversaries, and his fears for the future safety of the king[z]. The other trials ended in the same way; and the scaffold was erected on Tower-hill[a] five times in the course of six weeks, oftener than it had ever before been used since the revolution had broken out[b]. The measures of a more general character were directed in the same spirit. A week before Laud's execution[c], the liturgy of the Anglican church, which had hitherto been tolerated, was definitively abolished; and on the proposal of the assembly of divines, a book entitled 'Directions for Public Worship' received in its stead the sanction of parliament[d]. The party leaders knew that this innovation would

[z] According to the Journals of the House of Lords, twenty peers sat on the day on which Laud was condemned; but probably several went out before the vote; for it is proved by unquestionable documents that the majority who condemned him was composed only of the earls of Kent, Pembroke, Salisbury, Bolingbroke, and the lords North, Grey de Warke, and Bruce; Somers' Tracts, vol. ii. p. 287. Lord Bruce afterwards denied that he had voted.

[a] Sir Alexander Carew was executed on the 23d of December, 1644; John Hotham, junior, January 1st, 1745; Sir John Hotham, his father, January 2nd, 1745; Laud, January 10th, and lord Macguire, February 20th.

[b] State Trials, vol. iv. col. 315-626; 653-754; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 315-320-322; Whitelocke, p. 68, 109.

[c] January 3rd, 1645.

[d] Neal, Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 127.

meet with violent opposition, and cared little for its success; but to retain the power which was eluding their grasp, they needed all the support of the fanatical presbyterians, and refused them nothing. On their side, the independents did every thing they could to induce the upper house to adopt the self-denying ordinance; petitions were again brought forward, some of them were even threatening, and demanded that the lords and commons should sit together, and no longer form more than one assembly[e]. A solemn fast was ordained[f] to seek some token from the Lord on so important a matter; the two houses only were present at the sermons preached that day in Westminster, without doubt in order to leave the preachers more at liberty in their discourses, and Vane and Cromwell had taken care to choose them[g]. At last, after repeated messages and conferences, the commons went in a body to the upper house to claim the adoption of the ordinance[h]; but the lords had taken their resolution, and the ordinance was rejected on the very day that this important step was taken.

The victory seemed great, and the moment propitious to make the most of it. The time appointed for the negotiations of Uxbridge drew

[e] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 5; Lingard, Hist. of England, vol. x. p. 282; Whitelocke, p. 114.

[f] December 18th.

[g] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 288; Whitelocke, p. 114.

[h] January 13th, 1645; Parl. Hist., vol. iii., col. 333-337; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 7; Whitelocke, p. 118.

near. Charles, prevailed upon by the entreaties of the fugitive members who had just obscurely met at Oxford to open their second session, had at last consented[i] to give the name of parliament to the two houses at Westminster. He wrote to the queen: "had there been but two in the council of my opinion I would never have given up[k]. He had at the same time appointed his commissioners[l]; nearly all of them wished for peace. Among the commissioners of parliament[m], Vane, St. John, and Prideaux, had alone formed other designs. On the 29th of January the negotiators arrived at Uxbridge full of hope and good intention.

They greeted each other on both sides with eagerness and courtesy. They were well ac-

[i] Towards the end of December, 1644.

[k] Letter from the king to the queen, dated the 2nd of January, 1645; in the Explanatory and Historical Documents joined to the Memoirs of Ludlow, vol. i. p. 394, in the Collection.

[l] The duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton, Kingston, and Chichester; the lords Capel, Seymour, Hatton, and Colepepper; the secretary of state Nicolas, Sir Edward Hyde, Sir Edward Lane, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Sir Tho-Thomas Gardiner, Mr. John Ashburnham, Mr. Geoffery Palmer, D. Stewart, and their retinue, in all one hundred and eight persons.

[m] The earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Denbigh; lord Wenman, Mr. Denzil Hollis, William Pierpoint, Oliver St. John, Whitelocke, John Crew, Edmund Prideaux, and Sir Harry Vane, for the English parliament; the earl of Lowden, the marquis of Argyle, the lords Maitland and Balmerino, Sir Archibald Johnston, Sir Charles Erskine, Sir John Smith, Mr. George Dundas, Hugh Kennedy, Robert Berkley, and Alexander Henderson, for the Scottish parliament, with their retinue; in all, one hundred and eight persons.

quainted, and many before these fatal dissensions had been united by ties of friendship. On the evening of their arrival, Hyde, Colepepper, Palmer, Whitelocke, Hollis, Pierpoint, mutually visited each other, congratulating themselves that they were working together to procure peace for their distracted country. More reserve, however, was observable in the behaviour of the Westminster commissioners, who bore the yoke of rougher and more mistrustful masters. The negotiations were to last twenty days, and the subjects for particular discussion were, Ireland, religion, and the militia. It was agreed that each of these questions should be discussed for three days, and if not decided, to be alternately returned to. While these preliminary arrangements were going forward, everything seemed easy; mutual confidence and extreme politeness characterised their intercourse. But when the discussion officially began[n] around the table at which the negotiators were seated, the difficulties all reappeared. Each of the parliamentary factions had their fundamental interest in which they would give up nothing; the presbyterians, the privileged establishment of their church; the politicians, the command of the militia; the independents, liberty of conscience; and the king, who was obliged to concede to all, only obtained from each such sacrifices as the others entirely refused to comply with. Besides

[n] January 30th, 1645.

this, each of the parties were continually inquiring whether peace being concluded, power would be in their hands, for they neither of them would treat except on this condition. The debate opened on the subject of religion, and soon took the character of theological controversy; instead of negotiating they argued; they were more anxious to prove themselves in the right than to make peace. By degrees a feeling of acrimony was introduced in their relations, which at first had been so benevolent; it even showed itself in those familiar conversations in which some of the negotiators sometimes sought to raise the obstacles which opposed their progress. Among the commissioners from Oxford, the society of Hyde was particularly sought by those of Westminster, who knew him to be a wise man, and to have influence over the king. Lord Lowden, chancellor of Scotland, and the earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, discoursed at length and frankly with him on the dangers of the future, the sinister designs which fermented in the parliament, and the necessity that the king should give up a great deal to save the whole. Hyde willingly listened to these communications; but the susceptibility of his self-love, the unbending haughtiness of his reason, his dry and sarcastic tone, and his scornful probity, nearly always offended those who sought his intimacy. The least occurrence revealed all these perplexities in the situation of the negotiators, and the little hopes there was for peace. On a market day,

a man by the name of Love, a fanatical preacher, who had come from London, was preaching in the church of Uxbridge with the most outrageous violence against the royalists and the treaty. "No good can be expected from it," said he; "those people are come from Oxford with their hearts full of blood; they only want to amuse the people till they can do them some great injury; this treaty is as far from peace as heaven is from hell." The king's commissioners requested that this man should be chastised, but the parliamentarians dared do no more than send him from Uxbridge [o]. Unpropitious reports were circulated respecting the king's real intentions; it was said, that though he gave up to the wishes of his council he did not in fact wish for peace, always promising the queen that he would do nothing without her consent, and applying himself far more in fomenting the interior dissensions of parliament than in really seeking an accommodation. He was even suspected of being in treaty with the papists of Ireland to raise an army among them; and the most solemn protestations of his commissioners did not succeed in dispelling the suspicions of the city on this subject.

The term fixed for the end of the negoti ns approached, and the parliament showed them-

[o] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 279-316; Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 848-926; Whitelocke's Memorials, etc. p. 123.

selves but little inclined to prolong them. The friends of peace, grieved to see themselves so near the time of parting without any good result, concerted a final attempt among themselves[p]. It seemed to them that some concession from the king on the subject of the militia, for instance, the offer of giving up the command of it for some years to leaders half of whom should be appointed by parliament, would have a good effect. Lord Southampton went in great speed to Oxford to obtain this from the king. Charles at first refused, the earl insisted; others joined him on their knees in entreating the king, for the sake of his crown and his people, not to refuse this last means of negotiating. Charles at last yielded to their solicitations; and so ardently did his counsellors wish for peace, that in their joy all difficulties seemed done away with. Fairfax and Cromwell were among those to whom the king himself was to propose that the command of the militia should be given. At night, while they were at supper, gaiety reigned round the royal table. The king complained that his wine was not good; "I hope," said one of the company, "that your majesty will drink some better in a few days with the lord mayor at Guildhall." The next morning lord Southampton being about to depart for Uxbridge, called on the king to receive written instructions on what had been agreed; but, to his extreme

[p] About the middle of February, 1645.

astonishment, Charles withdrew his promise, and definitively refused to grant this concession [q].

A letter from Montrose, which had been received in the night, and which had been sent from the farthest part of Scotland with a rapidity almost without example, had decided him to this sudden change. A fortnight before, at Inverlochy, in the county of Argyle, Montrose had gained a most brilliant victory over the Scottish troops commanded by Argyle himself [r]. After giving an account of it to the king, he said: "Will your sacred majesty now permit me to express my humble opinion on that, of which I am informed by my friends in the south, namely, that your majesty is in negotiation with your rebellious parliament. This news from England has afflicted me as much as the success of your majesty's arms in Scotland had cheered my heart. The last time I had the honour of seeing your majesty, I fully exposed to you what I know so well to be the designs of your rebellious subjects in both kingdoms; and your majesty can perhaps remember how much you were then convinced that I was in the right. I am sure that since then nothing can have happened which can have changed your majesty's opinion on the subject. The more you grant the more will be requested of you; and I have but too many mo-

[q] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 316-319; Wellwood's Memoirs, p. 62, 63, edit. of 1718; Banks, A Critical Review of the Life of Oliver Cromwell, (London, 1769,) p. 108-112.

[r] February 2nd, 1645; the letter is of the 3rd of February.

tives to hold for certain that they will not be content until they have reduced your majesty to the mere effigy of a king. Will my august and sacred sovereign then forgive me if I make so free as to say that in my humble opinion it is beneath the dignity of a king to treat with rebel subjects while they retain the sword in hand. God forbid that I should restrain the mercy of your majesty; but I shudder with horror when I think a treaty is in hand while your majesty and those people have still two armies standing in the field. Allow me humbly to assure your majesty that with the blessing of God I am in the right way to make this kingdom submit again to your power; and if the measures which I have concerted with your other faithful subjects do not fail, which it is not very likely they will, I shall be able, before the end of this summer, to come with an army of brave men to the assistance of your majesty; and supported by the justice of your cause, you will, I trust, inflict on these rebels, both in England and Scotland, the just chastisement of their rebellion. Only grant me leave to say to your majesty, after I have submitted this kingdom to your power, and conquered from Dan to Beer-sheba, what king David's lieutenant said to his master: *Come thyself, lest this country should be called by my name;* for in all my actions I have nothing in view but the glory and interest of your majesty[s]."

[s] Whitelocke, p. 128.

This letter had rekindled all the king's hopes; lord Southampton, though less confident, no longer insisted; and he brought the refusal to Uxbridge, without explaining the cause of it. The conferences were broken off, and the presbyterian chiefs returned to Westminster completely dejected by this event, which left them in as much trouble as ever.

Things had grown worse in their absence. Compelled to abandon, at least for a while, the self-denying ordinance, the independents had all at once engaged their most ardent efforts in that measure which was to accompany it, the new modelling of the army. In a few days every thing had been prepared, concerted, and definitively settled; the plan, the form, the expense, and the means of providing for it [t]. Only one army, composed of twenty thousand men, and to be commanded by one general, was for the future to be kept standing. The general was to be vested with the right of appointing all officers under him, provided the parliament had no objection to them. This general was Fairfax. His brilliant valour, the frankness of his character, the success of his undertakings, the warlike enthusiasm with which he inspired his soldiers, had long fixed the eyes of all upon him; and Cromwell had publicly answered in the house and secretly given assurance to his party

[t] The new army was to cost 56,135*l.* a month; for which nine counties were to be taxed; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 8-13.

of the propriety of this choice. Essex still retained his title, Waller and Manchester their commission, but without even a shadow of authority. On the 28th of January the ordinance which was to regulate the execution of this measure was sent to the lords. They endeavoured at least to retard its adoption, sometimes by proposing amendments, and at others by the tardiness of their movements. But in this instance resistance was difficult, for the ordinance was supported by the suffrages of the people, who were convinced that the multiplicity of chiefs and armies was the cause of the continuance of war and of its inefficacy. Strengthened by this support, the commons urged it forwards; the lords at last yielded; the ordinance was adopted, and, on the 19th of February, two days before the rupture of the negotiations at Uxbridge, Fairfax was introduced into the house, and received, with a simple and modest air, standing by the chair which had been prepared for him, the official compliments of the speaker[x].

The presbyterians, when they arrived at Westminster, endeavoured to redeem their defeat. The upper house complained bitterly of the injurious and even threatening discourse which had been used towards them, and of the report which was everywhere in circulation that the

[u] February 15th, 1645.

[x] Whitelocke, p. 127-131; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 340-344; Rushworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 7-13; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 40, etc. in the Collection.

commons meditated the abolition of the peerage. The commons answered by a solemn declaration of their profound respect for the rights of the lords, and their firm resolution to uphold them[y]. The Scottish commissioners, in the name of the covenant, addressed to both houses[z] a remonstrance at once timid and severe[a]. The commons, without troubling themselves about it, transmitted another ordinance to the lords, still further enlarging Fairfax's authority, and in which the injunction "to watch over the king's personal safety," which had till then been repeated in all similar acts, was suppressed. The lords voted that it should be reinserted; the commons refused[b]. "This phrase," they said, "is of no other use than to perplex the soldiers, in allowing the king to be at the head of his army without ever running any danger." The lords persisted; and in three successive debates, notwithstanding the active interposition of the commons, the votes were equally divided in the upper house on this question[c]. Everything remained in suspense: the commons declared that, for their part, having done everything in their power, if the delay caused any misfortune, the lords alone would be answerable to the country[d].

[y] March 24th, 1643; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 348-350.
[z] March 3rd, 1645.
[a] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 346.
[b] March 29th, 1645.
[c] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 350, 351.
[d] March 31st, 1645; ibid.

The peers themselves began to grow weary of a resistance of which they foresaw not only the uselessness, but the approaching end. While these things were going on, the marquis of Argyle arrived from Scotland: a presbyterian in his religion, he was inclined to the bolder notions in politics; and the independents, Vane and Cromwell in particular, soon contracted intimate connexions with him. Argyle had besides recent injuries to avenge: of a deep and subtle mind, vigilant activity, but firmer in the council than in the field, he had only witnessed the defeat of the Scots by Montrose from the middle of the lake of Inverlochy, and his bark had speedily borne him away when he saw his soldiers take to flight[e]. From that day, in England as well as in Scotland, the cavaliers never mentioned his name without insult, and their complete fall could alone gratify his vindictive displeasure. He employed his influence to dissuade the Scottish commissioners and some of the presbyterians from a longer opposition, not only to the new modelling of the army, but to the self-denying ordinance itself; an opposition, he said, through which everything would suffer, and which must sooner or later be of necessity overcome[f]. Essex saw that the resolution of his friends was daily more and more shaken. Having resolved to anticipate their weakness, he an-

[e] Malcolm Laing, Hist. of Scotland, etc., vol. iii. p. 294.
[f] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 6.

nounced that he should resign his commission; and on the 1st of April he rose in the upper house, holding a paper in his hand, for he was quite deficient in the art of speaking, and read: "My lords, I accepted this great charge in obedience to the orders of both houses; I took their sword in hand; and I am bold to say that for three years I have faithfully served them without, I hope, any loss to my own honour or any damage to the public. I now see, by the appearance of these ordinances, that the house of commons wishes that my command should cease. If I have so long delayed my resignation, it is not through any personal motive, whatever may be advanced to the contrary. Many persons know that I wished to do so after the deliverance of Gloucester, and that nothing but urgent entreaties, having, as I was told, the welfare of the public for their object, caused me to give up my design. I now accomplish it; I resign my commission into the hands of those from whom I received it, and I sincerely hope that my so-doing will prove as good a remedy for the difficulties which distress us, as some people seem to imagine it will be. There can be, I think, no unbecoming pride in requesting from the house, that those of my officers who will be put aside, should receive for their maintenance a portion of the arrears which are due to them, and that they should have securities for the rest on the

Ibid. p. 7.

faith of the public. My lords, I know that in the melancholy state of our affairs suspicions cannot be avoided; yet it would, I think, be wise as well as charitable to put some limits to them, were it only that they may not cause our own ruin. I hope this advice will not seem out of season on my part; it is only suggested by my devotion to parliament, whose prosperity I shall always wish, and from the bottom of my heart, whatever it may bring upon myself. I am not, in this way, the only example of the fate I endure[h]."

This speech had the effect of a deliverance in the upper house. They directly informed the commons that they adopted this ordinance on the new model of the army without any amendment[i]. At the same time, the earls of Denbigh and Manchester, as well as Essex, gave in their resignation. The house voted thanks to them for this patriotic sacrifice and promises, which the commons hastened to fulfil. The very next day a self-denying ordinance, a little different from the first, passed without obstacle in the upper house[k]; and many congratulated themselves that the contest which had caused so much disquietude was at last terminated.

[h] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 352.

[i] The 3rd of April, 1645.

[k] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 353-355. See the self-denying ordinance, in the Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 355.

HISTORY OF
THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES I.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

1645—1646.

No sooner had Essex and Manchester resigned their commissions, than Fairfax left London[a], and fixing his general quarters at Windsor, set himself busily to work to form with their troops the new army which he was to command. It had been foreseen that this would not be done without violent opposition; and Cromwell, to whom the self-denying ordinance extended as well as to Essex and Manchester, had quieted the fears which had been expressed, protesting, that as far as he was concerned, his soldiers had been taught to march or remain, to fight or to lay down their arms, according to the commands of parliament. Some seditions however took place, particularly at Reading, where there were five regiments of Essex's infantry, and in Hertfordshire, where eight troops of his cavalry were

[a] The 3rd of April, 1645.

stationed under the command of colonel Dalbier. The presence of Skippon, however, who had been named major-general of the new army, and his rough but feeling eloquence, were sufficient to quiet the regiments of Reading[b]. Those of Dalbier showed a longer resistance; it was even reported in London that they were on the point of going over to the king; and St. John, who was always of a violent disposition, wrote to the leaders in Hertfordshire, that they should fall unawares and sword in hand on the factious. But through the influence of some of the cashiered officers, and of Essex himself, Dalbier at last submitted, and went to the general quarters. To say the truth, discontent was not very violent among the soldiers, and they resigned themselves without difficulty to their new leaders. The parliament commanded that a fortnight's pay should be distributed to them, and that the confiscated estates of some of the delinquents should be sold to satisfy the most urgent demands. Cromwell's soldiers also showed themselves mutinous, and declared they would not serve without him, nor under the command of any one else; and Cromwell alone had power enough over them to make them return to their duty. When he first heard of their insurrection, he immediately set off, as he said, to render this last service to the house, before he gave up his command. Towards the 20th of

[b] The 6th of April.

April, this great work was almost accomplished; all the new corps were organized without difficulty: in London alone the excitement was prolonged by the crowds of cashiered officers who flocked thither, either to solicit the payment of their arrears, or to watch the course of events[c].

At Oxford the king and court were full of hope. After breaking off the Uxbridge negotiations, and notwithstanding the brilliant news he had received from Scotland, Charles had felt some uneasiness. Though but little inclined to peace, he wished that the pacific party should predominate at Westminster, and their defeat for a time frightened him. He resolved to part with his son Charles, prince of Wales, who was then approaching his fifteenth year, and send him with the title of generalissimo to the western counties, either to give to those counties a chief still capable of animating their loyalty, or to divide the perils which might threaten royalty. Hyde, and lords Capel and Colepepper, were charged to accompany the prince and direct everything in his name. The despondency of the king's thoughts was at that time so great that he discoursed several times with Hyde on what might happen if he himself fell into the hands of the rebels, and caused him to be indirectly questioned by lord Digby to know whether in case of need and without orders, even contrary to apparent orders, he would decide to

[c] Hollis, Memoirs, p. 45-51 in the Collection; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 17.

send the prince out of England, and take him on the continent. "These questions," answered Hyde, "cannot be resolved until the time of need;" and on the 4th of March the prince and his councillors took leave of the king, whom they were never to see again[d]. But a month after, when it was known at Oxford what obstacles the new modelling of the parliamentary army met with, when the regiments were seen in insurrection, and the most illustrious officers put aside, confidence and gaiety reappeared among the cavaliers. Soon they only spoke with scorn of this mob of peasants and preaching tradesmen, who had been foolish enough to drive from among them generals whose names and skill had formed their strength, and who were now commanded by officers as obscure and as ignorant of war as their soldiers. Songs, puns, and ridicule of all kinds were daily renewed against the parliament and its defenders; and the king, in spite of his serious disposition, allowed himself to be persuaded by these convenient arguments[e]. He had, besides, secret hopes, which arose from intrigues of which even his most devoted confidants were ignorant.

Towards the end of April, Fairfax announced that in a few days he should open the campaign. Cromwell arrived at Windsor, to kiss, as he said,

[d] Clarendon, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 257-266 in the Collection; Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 321-326.

[e] May, Hist. of the Long Parl., vol. ii. p. 302 in the Collection; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 172, ibid.

the general's hand, and bring him his resignation. Fairfax, when he saw him enter the room, said to him, "I have just received from the committee of the two kingdoms a message concerning you; it orders you to march directly with a few regiments of horse, to keep the road from Oxford to Worcester, to intercept communications between prince Rupert and the king[f]. The same evening Cromwell was gone, and in five days, before any other corps of the new army had put themselves in motion, he had beaten the royalists in three different engagements[g], taken Bletchington[h], and given an account to the house of his success[i]. "Who," cried the king, "will bring me this Cromwell, dead or alive[k]!" while in London every one was rejoicing that he had not resigned his commission.

A week had scarcely passed, before the parliament decided that he should not resign it at all. The campaign had commenced[l]. The king had left Oxford[m], joined prince Rupert, and was rapidly advancing towards the north, either to raise the siege of Chester, or to give battle to the Scottish army, and regain on that side all his

[f] Sprigg, Anglia Rediviva, p. 10, folio, London, 1647; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 23.

[g] The 24th of April, at Islip-bridge; the 26th, at Witney; and the 27th at Bampton Bush.

[h] The 24th of April.

[i] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 359; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 24.

[k] Banks, Critical Review, &c. p. 23.

[l] The 30th of April.

[m] The 7th of May.

ancient advantages; if he succeeded, he remained at liberty to threaten as he pleased the east or the south; and Fairfax, who was on his road to the west, to deliver the important place of Taunton, which was closely surrounded by the prince of Wales, could not oppose his progress. Fairfax was recalled[n]; but in the meantime Cromwell alone was prepared to watch narrowly the king's movements. Notwithstanding the ordinance, he received orders to continue his service forty days longer[o]. Sir William Brereton, Sir Thomas Middleton, and Sir John Price, distinguished officers, and members of the commons, received similar orders[p], either through motives of the same nature, or that Cromwell might not appear to be alone excepted.

Fairfax hastened his return; the king had continued his march towards the north; in London, without any one's knowing why, fears were rather calmed; no royalist army any longer defended Oxford, which had always been the focus of war in the centre of the kingdom; the parliament thought they had certain intelligences in the place; Fairfax received orders to surround it[q]. Should he succeed in taking it, this success would be immense; if the siege was pro-

[n] The 6th of May.

[o] The 10th of May; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 361; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 51; Whitelocke, p. 140.

[p] Whitelocke, ibid.

[q] The 17th of May; the siege begun on the 22nd, Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 33; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 364, 369-373; Journals of the House of Lords.

longed, he could easily march from it to those points from which the king would be most likely to threaten. Cromwell joined him at Oxford.

They had scarcely met, when new alarms were entertained in London, and far greater than the former had been. Every day brought some unfavourable news from the north; the Scottish army, instead of marching to meet the king to stop him, or give him battle, retired towards the borders, as some said because they were forced, in order to oppose the progress of Montrose in that kingdom; others said, it was in consequence of the displeasure they felt at parliament having refused to bear the yoke of presbyterians and strangers[r]. Whatever was the cause, the king, through their retreat, had only to approach within sight of the walls of Chester to raise the siege; and feeling no more uneasiness as to this place, the means of his communication with Ireland, he turned towards the confederate counties of the east, which had till then been the strength and bulwark of parliament. It was necessary at all hazards to save these from his invasion. None could succeed so well in this undertaking as Cromwell, for there in particular his influence was felt. He had levied his first troops in these counties, and here had been the scenes of his first exploits. He received orders to move directly upon Cam-

[r] Old Parl. Hist., vol. xiii. p. 474-488.

bridge, and take in hand the defence of the confederation[s].

A more urgent peril soon caused him to be recalled. In a week the news came that the king had just taken the rich town of Leicester by storm[t], and that in the west Taunton, which had for awhile been relieved by a detachment of Fairfax's army, was again closely besieged[u]. This caused great consternation; the presbyterians triumphed: "This is," they said, "the fruit of this much boasted new model; since it has been accomplished, what has been seen? nothing but indecision and reverses. The king takes one of our best places in a day, while your general remains quietly before Oxford, probably waiting till the women of the court be frightened, and open the gates to him[x]." A petition from the common council was presented to the upper house[y]; in it all the mischief was attributed to the inactivity of the Scots, to the delays which still opposed the recruiting of the army, to the pretension which the houses had of governing at a distance the operations of war, and requested that more liberty should be allowed to the general, that more decisive advice should be given to the Scots, and that Cromwell should be rein-

[s] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 35; May, Hist. of the Long Parl., vol. ii. p. 305; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 51.

[t] The 1st of June, 1645.

[u] Whitelocke, p. 144.

[x] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 50.

[y] The 5th of June, 1645; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 365.

vested with his ancient command. At the same time Fairfax received orders[z] to leave the siege of Oxford, to go in pursuit of the king, and seek a battle at any rate. As he departed he wrote to the house to request that Cromwell should return to join him, as he was, he said, indispensable in the command of the cavalry; the letter was signed by sixteen colonels[a]. The lords deferred their answer, but the commons gave their sanction without delay, and it was thought sufficient. Fairfax immediately sent word to Cromwell[b]; all the divisions hastened their march; and the 12th of June a few of the parliamentary cavalry, who had been sent to reconnoitre, unexpectedly came upon a detachment of the king's army on the west of Northampton.

Charles was far from expecting their approach; being informed of the siege of Oxford, and yielding to the fears of his court, who entreated him to return[c], he had given up his expedition in the counties of the north and east, to march to the relief of his head-quarters. But his confidence was not shaken; another victory gained by Montrose had even recently elated his spirits[d]. He wrote to the queen: "Never since the beginning of the rebellion have my affairs been in

[z] The 5th of June.

[a] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 368.

[b] The 11th of June, Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 39.

[c] Memoirs of James II., in the Collection.

[d] Gained at Auldearn, in the county of Nairn, in the north of Scotland, the 4th of May, 1645.

so prosperous a condition[e]." He slowly continued his march, tarrying in those places he liked, spending his time in hunting and leaving his cavaliers to enjoy almost as much liberty as himself[f]. When he first heard that the parliamentary army was near, he returned towards Leicester to rally his troops and wait for those he expected either from Wales or the western counties. The next day[g] at supper time his security was still as great, and he had no thoughts of giving battle[h]. But he was informed that the parliamentarian squadrons disturbed the rear of his army. Cromwell had arrived within the last few hours[i]. A council of war was immediately called; and towards midnight, notwithstanding the opposition of several officers, who begged that reinforcements should be waited for, prince Rupert caused it to be decided that they should turn directly and offer battle to the enemy[k].

The meeting took place the next day[l] in the field of Naseby, on the north-west of Northampton. At the dawn of day the king's army

[e] The 9th of June, 1645; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 410 in the Collection.

[f] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 40; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 51.

[g] The 13th of June, 1645.

[h] Memoirs of Sir John Evelyn, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 97, in a letter from the king to the secretary of state, Nicholas, dated the 13th of June.

[i] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i p. 41; May, Hist. of the Long Parl., vol. ii. p. 307.

[k] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 53.

[l] The 14th of June, 1643.

took up an advantageous position, and formed in battle array on a little rising ground. Those who had been sent to reconnoitre, returned in the course of two hours, saying that they saw nothing of the parliamentary army. Rupert, losing patience, went himself on the look-out, with a few squadrons; it was agreed that the army should remain stationary till he returned. He had scarcely proceeded a mile and a-half before he met the advanced-guard of the enemy, who were hastening to find the cavaliers. In the eagerness of his passion, the prince fancied they were endeavouring to retreat, and continued to advance, sending word at the same time for the king to come and join him as fast as he could, lest the enemy should escape. Towards ten o'clock the royalists arrived, rather agitated by the precipitation of their march; and Rupert, at the head of the right wing of the cavalry, immediately attacked the left wing of the enemy, commanded by Ireton, who soon after became son-in-law to Cromwell[m]. Nearly at the same moment, Cromwell, whose regiments formed the right wing, attacked the left wing of the royalists, formed by the cavaliers of the northern counties, under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale; and in a few moments after, the two bodies of infantry, who occupied the centre, also joined in fight, the parliamentarians being commanded by Fairfax and Skippon, and the roy-

[m] The 15th of January, 1647.

alists by the king in person. No battle had before been so violent, and the troops at once so generally engaged. Both armies were nearly of the same strength; the war cry of the royalists was, *The queen Mary;* and the parliamentarians, firm in their faith, marched forward singing, *God is with us!* Prince Rupert made his first attack with his usual success; after a warm engagement, Ireton's squadrons were at length obliged to give way; Ireton himself, wounded in the shoulder and his thigh run through by a pike, fell for awhile into the power of the cavaliers. But while Rupert, who was always guilty of the same fault, followed the enemy to the baggage of the camp, which was well defended by some of the artillery, and was losing time in attacking them in hopes of booty, Cromwell on his side, master of himself and his men, did as he had done before at Marston-Moor, dispersed Langdale's squadrons, and leaving two of his officers to prevent their rallying, he hastened back to the field of battle, where the infantry were still engaged. The struggle was more violent and fatal there than anywhere else. The ranks of the parliamentarians, attacked by the king himself, had been at first put in great disorder; Skippon was severely wounded; Fairfax persuaded him to retire, "No," said he, "as long as one man stands, I shall remain here;" and he gave orders to the men in reserve to advance. A blow from a sword beat off Fairfax's helmet; Charles Doyley, the colonel of his guards, seeing him go

about the field bareheaded, offered him his. "It is very well as it is Charles," said Fairfax, "I do not want it;" and pointing out to him a division of the royal infantry that none had yet been able to put in disorder, "What, cannot those people be got at," he said, "have you attacked them?"—"Twice, general, and without success."—"Well, take to them in front, I will take to them in the rear, and we will meet in the middle;" and they did indeed meet in the midst of the dispersed ranks. Fairfax killed with his own hand the ensign, and delivered the colours into the hands of one of his soldiers; the man afterwards boasted of this as his own exploit, and Doyley, who heard it, reproved him for it; but Fairfax overhearing him, said, "Let him retain that honour, I have to-day acquired enough without it." When Cromwell reappeared with his victorious squadrons, the royalists were in their turn giving way on every side. Charles, seeing this, put himself in despair at the head of the regiment of life-guards, the only one he had in reserve, to attack this new enemy; the order was already given and the troop marching, when the earl of Carnewarth, a Scotchman, who was galloping by the king, suddenly caught hold of his bridle, exclaiming with an oath, "Do you want to get killed?" and made him turn abruptly to the right. The cavaliers who were near the king turned also, without understanding the reason why; the others followed, and in an instant the whole regiment turned their backs to the

enemy. The astonishment of the army soon changed into terror; they all dispersed about the plain, some to escape, others to prevent their flight. Charles, who was in the centre of a group of officers, in vain cried "Stop! stop!" The fugitives did not stop until they saw prince Rupert, who was returning with his squadrons to the field of battle. A numerous body now assembled round the king, but the cavaliers who composed it were all in disorder, fatigued, perplexed, and desponding. Charles, waving his sword, with a beaming eye, and despair traced in every line of his countenance, went twice forward crying with all his might, "One charge more, and we recover the day." But none followed him; the infantry were flying in every direction, or were already taken prisoners; the king was obliged to leave the field, and with about two thousand horse retreated towards Leicester; leaving his artillery, ammunition, baggage, more than one hundred flags, among which was his own standard, five thousand men, and all his cabinet papers in possession of parliament [n].

This victory surpassed the boldest expectations. Fairfax hastened to inform the parliament of it in a calm and simple strain, without any political allusion or counsel. Cromwell wrote also; but only to the commons, as holding his

[n] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 42-44; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. 8, p. 54-58; Whitelocke, p. 145; May, Hist. of the Long Parl., vol. 2, p. 305-309.

commission from them alone; his letter concluded with these words: "In all this the hand of God has alone been active; to God alone belongs the glory, and no one can share it with him. The general has served you with honour and fidelity; the greatest praise I can give him is, that he attributes all to God, and that he would rather die than pretend to any thing himself: yet as to valour, he certainly deserves on this occasion the honour of having displayed as much as can be shown by man. The well-disposed" (by these he meant the fanatical independents) "have served you faithfully; they are full of confidence; I conjure you, in the name of God, not to discourage them. I hope this affair will produce gratitude and humility in the hearts of all those who are interested in it. I hope that he who hazards his life for the safety of his country, may be able to trust in God for the liberty of his conscience; and in you for that liberty in the name of which he fights[o]."

Some took offence that a lieutenant-general, a servant of parliament, as they called him, should thus take upon himself to distribute advice and praise; but their displeasure was of little moment in the midst of the public transport; and the day on which Cromwell's letter reached London, the lords themselves voted that his command should last three months longer[p].

They voted, at the same time, that this vic-

[o] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 45, 46.

[p] June 16th, 1645; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 374.

tory should be seized upon as a favourable opportunity for offering reasonable proposals to the king[q], and the Scottish commissioners expressed the same desire[r]. But the conquerors were quite of another opinion. Instead of answering, the commons requested[s] that a meeting of citizens should be held at Guildhall to hear the reading of the papers found in the king's cabinet, particularly his letters to the queen, that they might judge for themselves what trust could be henceforward placed in any negotiations. Fairfax had hesitated to open these papers, but Cromwell and Ireton had speedily removed his scruples, and the house had not thought of partaking of them. The reading of the papers took place in the midst of an immense concourse of people[t], and produced a prodigious effect. It was clear that the king had never wished for peace; that in his eyes no concession was definitive, no promise obligatory; in a word, that he only depended on force, and still aimed at absolute power; and finally, that notwithstanding the protestations he had a hundred times repeated, he had himself written to the king of France, the duke of Lorraine, and all the sovereigns of the continent, to request them to send foreign soldiers into the kingdom.

[q] June 20th; ibid. col. 375.

[r] July 28th; ibid. col. 389.

[s] June 30th.

[t] July 3rd; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 377; May, Hist. of the Long Parl., vol. ii. p. 310-312.

Even the name of parliament, which he had appeared to give to the house to obtain the conferences of Uxbridge, was but a deception on his part; for he had at the same time protested against his official proceeding, and caused his protestation to be inscribed on the register of the council of Oxford[u]. All the citizens were allowed to convince themselves with their own eyes that these letters were really in the king's own handwriting[x]; and immediately after the meeting at Guildhall the parliament had them published[y].

Anger was the general feeling of all parties; even the friends of peace were obliged to be silent. Some attempted, but in vain, to prevent this publication, which was, they said, a gross violation of domestic secrets. They questioned whether the authenticity of the letters could be relied on, whether it was not probable that several had been purposely deprived of part of

[u] Letters from the king to the queen, of the 2nd and 9th of January, 15th and 19th of February; 5th, 13th, and 30th of March; at the end of Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 394, 390, 397, 396, 399, 407, 390 in the Collection. Sir John Evelyn's Memoirs, Appendix, vol. ii. p. 90. See the Elucidations and Historical Documents, No. 4.

[x] May, Hist. of the Long Parl., vol. ii. p. 310.

[y] Under the title of "The King's Cabinet opened, or certain parcels of private letters and papers, written by the king, and taken from his cabinet on the field of the battle of Naseby, the 14th of June, 1645; by the victorious Sir Thomas Fairfax, in which are revealed many mysteries of state, which fully justify the cause for which Sir Thomas Fairfax gave battle on that memorable day; with a few notes."

their contents, and others altogether omitted[z], they insinuated that in parliament also there were certain men who negotiated with as little candour; but no explanation, no excuse is received by the people when they once discover that any one has endeavoured to deceive them. Besides, supposing all this to be true, the king's dishonesty still remained evident; and it was to him only they had to look for peace. War alone was now thought of; men were levied, taxes collected, the estates belonging to delinquents sold, every thing was hurried forward; all the troops received their pay, and all places of importance were supplied with ammunition[a]. The Scots at last agreed to advance into the centre of the kingdom[b]; and Fairfax, no longer seeing any fugitives to pursue, continued his march[c] into the western counties, which the siege of Oxford had caused him to suspend.

Every thing was changed in these counties, which had till then been the bulwarks of the royal cause; not that the opinion of the people had become more favourable to parliament, but

[z] The king never denied the authenticity of these letters; he even expressly acknowledges it in a letter written to Sir Edward Nicholas, on the 4th of August 1645, which was a few weeks after the publication (Sir John Evelyn's Memoirs, Appendix, vol. ii. p. 101); and the text published by parliament is exactly the same as that inserted in the 'Works of Charles I.,' published in London, at Royston's, 1660.

[a] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 377.

[b] July 2nd, 1645; Old Parl. Hist., vol. xiv. p. 60.

[c] June 20th, 1645.

it was alienated from the king. He still possessed in them several divisions of troops, and almost all the towns; but war was no longer carried on as when it began, by serious, respected, and popular men, such as the marquis of Hertford, Sir Bevil Greenville, lord Hopton, Trevannion, Slanning, disinterested friends of the crown: some were dead, others had grown weary, or were estranged by court intrigues, and sacrificed by the king's weakness. In their stead, lord Goring and Sir Richard Greenville were the commanders; one the most debauched, the other the most rapacious of the cavaliers; no principle, no affection attached them to the royal cause; in making war for the king they found the opportunity of gratifying their own passions, of oppressing their enemies, of giving way to revenge, enjoying themselves, and getting rich. Goring was brave, beloved by his men, and not deficient either in skill or energy on the field of battle; but nothing could equal his carelessness nor the insolent intemperance of his conduct and his words: even his loyalty was not to be relied upon; he had already betrayed first the king[d], and then the parliament[e], and seemed always on the point of some new treason[f]. Sir Richard Greenville, less irregular, and more in-

[d] In 1641, at the time the army first conspired against the parliament; see the first volume of this work, p. 159.

[e] In August, 1642, at the beginning of the civil war, by giving up Portsmouth to the king, of which place parliament had appointed him the governor.

[f] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. viii. p. 129-134.

fluential with the nobility of the country, was severe and insatiable, and his courage, if not dubious, was at least very tardy. He passed his time in collecting contributions for troops which he never intended to levy, or for undertakings which he did not even take the trouble to begin. The soldiers were changed as well as their leaders; it was no longer a party frivolous but sincere, licentious but devoted, who had taken up arms to defend their affections and interests; it was a band of blackguards, indifferent even to their cause, given night and day to the most insufferable excesses, and who disgusted by their vices a country already reduced to the greatest distress by their extortions. The prince of Wales, or rather his council, being obliged to make use of such men, spent their time in vain efforts to satisfy their wishes and repress their disorders; having sometimes to protect the people against them, and at others enlisting men into their ranks[g].

In many instances, however, the people would no longer enlist, and soon were not satisfied with mere passive resistance. Thousands of peasants met, and under the name of 'clubmen' went in bands about the country. They had no design to rank with either party, and did not declare for the parliament; they only wished to keep the ravages of war from their villages

[g] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell, vol. viii. p. 60-69, 73-75, etc.

and their fields, and attacked all those from whom they had reason to apprehend them, without troubling themselves to inquire to which party they belonged. The preceding year a few bands had already assembled in the same manner in Worcestershire and Dorsetshire to resist the violence of prince Rupert. In the month of March, 1645, the clubmen became in the western counties a permanent, regular, and respected force, commanded even by gentlemen, some of whom had served in the king's army; they were constantly engaged in the defence of property and persons, and in claiming order and peace. They treated with the troops and garrisons of both parties, engaging to supply them with provisions under condition that they would not employ violence to obtain any; they even sometimes prevented bloodshed between them, and they had inscribed on their standard these words:

> If you offer to plunder our cattle,
> Be assured we will give you battle[h].

As long as the royalists prevailed in the west, it was to oppose them that the clubmen assembled, and it was with the parliament that they appeared disposed to unite. Sometimes they threatened to burn the homes of whoever refused to join them to exterminate the cavaliers[i];

[h] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. viii. p. 69; Letter from Fairfax to the committee of the two kingdoms, 3rd of July, 1645; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 380; Whitelocke, p. 130; Neal, Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 90.

[i] Whitelocke, p. 131.

at others they invited Massey, who commanded in the name of parliament in Worcestershire, to come with them and besiege Hereford, from whence the cavaliers infested the country[x]. The 2nd of June, at Wells, six thousand of them addressed a petition to the prince of Wales, complaining of the rapine of Goring, and notwithstanding the prince's orders they refused to disperse[y]. In the beginning of July, Fairfax arrived in the west; the cavaliers were rather intimidated, and ceased to devastate the country so licentiously. The clubmen immediately turned against Fairfax and his soldiers[z]. But Fairfax had a good army, well paid and equipped, in which enthusiasm and discipline lent each other a mutual support. He dealt gently with the clubmen, negotiated with them, personally attended their meetings, promised them peace, while he carried on the war with vigour. In a few days the campaign was decided. Goring having been taken by surprise and beaten at Langport[a], in Somersetshire, left the troops that remained to go where they liked; Sir Richard Greenville sent his commission of field-marshal back to the prince of Wales, impudently complaining of having been compelled to make war on his account[b]; and three weeks after the ar-

[x] Whitelocke, p. 133-135.

[y] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 69.

[z] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 380-386; May, Hist. of the Long Parl., vol. ii. p. 312, 409-418 in the Collection.

[a] The 11th of July, 1645.

[b] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 78-83.

rival of Fairfax, the cavaliers who had so lately traversed the country as masters, were almost all of them immured in those towns which Fairfax purposed to besiege.

At the same time, every one was inquiring what the king was doing, even where he was; for many people did not know. After the disaster of Naseby he went from town to town, scarcely giving himself any rest, and taking sometimes the road to the west, sometimes that to the north, according as he was prompted by the mobility of his fears and his projects. When he arrived at Hereford he resolved to go into Wales, where he hoped to recruit his infantry; he sent prince Rupert to Bristol, and went himself to Ragland castle, to the marquis of Worcester's, the chief of the catholic party, and the richest nobleman in England. He was determined to do this by secret designs, in which the catholics alone could concur. Besides, the marquis had for three years given proofs of inexhaustible devotion to the king; he had lent him 100,000*l.* had levied at his own expense two divisions of troops, placed them under the command of his son, lord Herbert, earl of Glamorgan, and notwithstanding his age and infirmities, personally commanded a strong garrison in his castle. He received the king with respectful pomp, assembled the nobility of the neighbourhood, provided feasts and hunting parties for his amusement, and surrounded him with all the homage and pleasures of a court. Charles, though a fugi-

tive, lived for awhile as if reinstated in his natural station, and for more than a fortnight, forgetting his misfortunes, his perils, and his kingdom, only thought of enjoying the pleasures of royalty[c].

The news of the disasters of the west, drew him at last from the apathy of this illusion. At the same time he heard that in the north the Scots had taken Carlisle[d], and were marching towards the south, meditating the siege of Hereford. He left Ragland to go to the assistance of Goring, but was scarcely arrived before the insubordination of the new levies, the dissensions among the officers, and a thousand unforeseen troubles discouraged him, and he returned into Wales. He was at Cardiff, not knowing upon what to decide, when a letter was delivered to him, written by prince Rupert to the duke of Richmond, whom he requested to show it to the king. According to the prince's opinion, every thing was lost; he counselled peace at any rate. As soon as his honour seemed in danger, Charles regained an energy which he never displayed when his personal safety alone was threatened. He immediately wrote to his nephew[e]: "If I had any other quarrel than the defence of my religion, my crown, and my friends, you had full reason for your advice. Speaking either as a

[c] Walker, Discourses, p. 132; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell. vol. viii. p. 39-90.

[d] The 28th of June, 1645.

[e] The 3rd of August, 1645.

soldier or statesman, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin; but as a Christian, I must tell you, that God will not suffer rebels to prosper, or his cause to be overthrown. Whatever personal chastisement it shall please him to inflict upon me must not make me repine, much less to give over this quarrel. I must avow to all my friends, that he that will stay by me must expect and resolve either to die for a good cause, or which is worse, to live as miserable in maintaining it as the violence of insulting rebels can make him. For God's sake do not let us flatter ourselves with vain conceits; believe me, the very idea that you are desirous for a treaty, will lose me so much the sooner[f];" and recalling all his courage, he left Wales directly, passed the quarters of the Scottish army already encamped under the walls of Hereford, without being seen, traversed rapidly the counties of Shropshire, Stafford, Derby, and Nottingham, and arrived in Yorkshire to excite the spirits of his party. He here summoned all his faithful cavaliers in the north to go with him to join Montrose, who was faithful as well as they, and still a conqueror[g].

The cavaliers came speedily; the presence of the king, who had so long resided among them, excited a warm enthusiasm throughout the country; it was proposed that a body of infantry should be levied; Pontefract and Scarborough

[f] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 90-97.

[g] Ibid. p. 114; Walker, p. 134, 135.

had been obliged to surrender some time before for want of provisions; the soldiers of the garrisons were at liberty; in three days nearly three thousand men came to offer their services to the king, promising to hold themselves ready to march at twenty-four hours notice. All they now waited for was a letter from Montrose, to know whether they should join him in Scotland or meet him in England. Suddenly the news arrived that David Lesley, at the head of the Scottish cavalry had raised the siege of Hereford, and was already at Rotherham, four miles from Doncaster, seeking everywhere for the king. The disaster of Naseby had disturbed for ever the imagination of the royalists; their confidence could no longer resist the approach of danger. Many left Doncaster, and no fresh ones arrived: according to the bravest, it was too late to attempt to join Montrose, the king's safety was alone to be considered. He therefore departed, followed by about fifteen hundred horse, crossed without obstacle the centre of the kingdom, having defeated on the road a few parliamentary detachments, and re-entered Oxford on the 29th of August, not knowing what to do with the few forces he had now left [h].

He had been there but two days when the news of the recent and prodigious success of Montrose in Scotland reached him. It was not only among the highlanders and in the north of

[h] Walker, p. 135-136; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 116.

the country that the royal cause was triumphant; Montrose had advanced towards the south in the lowlands; and on the 15th of August, at Kilsyth, not far from the ruins of the old Roman wall, he had obtained over the covenanters, who were commanded by Baillie, the seventh and most splendid of his victories. The army of the enemy was destroyed; all the neighbouring towns, Bothwell, Glasgow, even Edinburgh had opened their gates to him; all the royalists whom the Scottish parliament detained in prison, were freed; the timorous, who had waited for success to declare in the king's favour, the marquis of Douglas, the earls of Annandale and Linlithgow, the lords Seaton, Drummond, Erskine, Carnegie, &c., now eagerly came forward, fearing lest they should be too late. The parliamentarian leaders were flying on every side, some to England, others to Ireland[i]. Finally, the cavalry of the Scottish army, who were besieging Hereford, were soon recalled under the command of David Lesley, to fight for their country. Some even said, that when Lesley had lately appeared in the neighbourhood of Doncaster, far from seeking an engagement with the king, he was marching towards Scotland, and that the alarm which had been felt was quite without foundation[k].

[i] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 230; Guthrie, Memoirs, &c., p. 189, sqq.

[k] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 231; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 115-116. Lesley had left the siege of Hereford in the first days of August, and the battle of Kilsyth did not take place

On hearing this splendid recital[1], Charles's spirits were reanimated, and he immediately departed from Oxford to march against the Scottish army, take advantage of their reduced state, and oblige them at least to raise the siege of Hereford. On his road, as he passed at Ragland, he was informed that Fairfax had just invested Bristol, the most important of his possessions in the west; but the place was strong, prince Rupert defended it with a good garrison, and promised, to hold out four months at least: the king therefore felt no anxiety concerning it. When he was yet at a day's journey from Hereford, he learnt that the Scots at the news of his approach had raised the siege, and were precipitately retiring towards the north. He was advised to follow them; they were perplexed, fatigued, and in disorder, going through a country ill-disposed in their favour, and it would perhaps be sufficient to harass them to destroy them entirely. But Charles was fatigued himself by an activity which surpassed his strength; he said that he must go to the succour of Bristol; and till some troops which had been recalled from the west for this purpose should arrive, he returned to Ragland castle, either attracted by the charms of that place, or else to arrange matters with the marquis of Worcester

till the 15th. It is therefore evident that he left the Scottish army to follow the king, and could not have been at that time recalled to the assistance of his country.

[1] The 31st of August, 1645.

upon the great and mysterious affair which they were concerting together [m].

He had scarcely arrived before he received the most unexpected news; prince Rupert had surrendered Bristol [n] at the first attack, almost without striking a blow, though he wanted nothing, having ramparts, provisions, and soldiers. Charles was amazed; besides causing him the bitterest disappointment, it completely ruined his affairs in the west. He wrote to the prince [o]: "My nephew; though the loss of Bristol be a great blow to me, yet your surrendering it as you did makes me forget all besides. What can be done, after one so near to me as you are, both in blood and friendship, submits himself to so mean an action? (I give it the easiest term) such ..... But I have so much to say, that I shall say no more of it. Remember, that on the 12th of August you assured me that if no mutiny happened you would keep Bristol four months. Did you keep it four days? Was there any thing like a mutiny? I hasten to conclude: my desire is that you should go and seek your subsistence somewhere beyond sea, until it shall please God to determine of my fate; to which end I send you a pass. I pray God to make you sensible of your condition, and to give you

[m] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 117-118; Walker, p. 136; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 121-123.

[n] The 11th of September, 1645; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 65-88.

[o] From Hereford, the 14th of September.

the means of regaining what you have lost; for I shall have no greater joy in a victory than a just occasion of assuring you without blushing that I am your loving uncle and faithful friend,

CHARLES R.[p]"

He wrote the same day to Oxford[q], whither the prince had retired, to give orders to the lords of the council to recall his commissions, and watch his proceedings; to take from colonel William Legge, an intimate friend of Rupert, the place of governor of Oxford, and to arrest the colonel, and even the prince, if any disturbance arose in consequence; and his letter concluded with this postscript: "Tell my son that I should be less grieved to hear that he had been killed, than to hear of his doing so cowardly an action as this giving up of the place and fortress of Bristol[r]."

The only resource now left the king, was to do that which he had already attempted in vain, namely, to join Montrose. He was moreover called upon to march towards the north, to relieve Chester, which was again besieged, and which, now that Bristol was lost, was the only port in which the Irish auxiliaries, in whom he placed his only hope, could land. After a week spent at Hereford in a state of melancholy despondency, he departed over the Welch moun-

[p] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 120.

[q] To the secretary of state, Sir Edward Nicholas.

[r] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 12; Evelyn, Memoirs, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 107-109.

tains, the only road by which he could escape a body of parliamentarians, who, under the command of major-general Poyntz, were watching all his motions. He was still followed by about five thousand men; consisting partly of Welch infantry, and partly of cavaliers of the northern counties. He was already within sight of Chester, when a detachment of parliamentarians, who had departed later but by a better and more direct road, reached the rear of his army*. Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who commanded it, charged the enemy with so much vigour that he forced them to retire in disorder. But colonel Jones, who directed the siege, having detached a body of troops, appeared suddenly behind the royalists. Poyntz rallied his men. The king, being now attacked on both sides, saw his best officers fall around him, and was soon himself obliged to take flight. He returned in despair to Wales, cut off as if by an insurmountable barrier from the camp of Montrose, in which he had placed his last hope.

This hope itself was but a delusion; for the last ten days Montrose as well as the king was a fugitive, destitute of soldiers and of a place of refuge. On the 13th of September, Lesley, of whose approach he had not the slightest suspicion, had surprised him, weak and ill-guarded, at Philip-Haugh, in Ettrick forest, near the frontier of the

* At Rouhton-heath, the 24th of September, 1645; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 117; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 150-153.

two kingdoms. In spite of all his efforts, the highlanders had left him to return to their homes in order to secure their plunder. Some lords, the earl of Aboyne among others, becoming jealous of his glory had also forsaken him with their vassals; others, mistrusting his fortune, the lords Traquair, Hume, Roxburgh, notwithstanding their promises [t], had delayed to join him. His genius was brilliant but rash; in mean hearts he excited envy, but inspired no security to the timid. There was also an ostentation blended with his genius, which was very injurious to his influence. His friends served him with devotion, his soldiers with enthusiasm, but he could not impose upon his equals. His power, besides, had no other foundation than victory; and prudent men, who daily became more numerous, looked upon him with surprise, as a meteor which nothing checks but which will soon end its course. A single reverse was sufficient to overthrow all his success; and the day after his defeat, the conqueror of Scotland was nothing but an audacious outlaw.

When Charles received intelligence of this, he cast his eyes around him with terror, not knowing where to place his hope. Even counsellors failed him. He had placed the wisest, lord Capel, Colepepper, and Hyde near his son; lord Digby was almost the only one who remained with him, still confident, adventurous, and al-

[t] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 231; Guthrie, Memoirs, &c., p. 198 sqq.

ways ready to oppose projects to misfortunes; and, notwithstanding the sincerity of his zeal, particularly intent on retaining his influence. The king for a moment entertained the idea of retiring to the isle of Anglesey, on the coast of Wales, and near Ireland, to pass the winter. But he was easily dissuaded from thus forsaking his kingdom, where he still possessed many good places, among others Worcester, Hereford, Chester, Oxford, and Newark. Every one persuaded him to go to Worcester, but nothing could be less agreeable to lord Digby. He was the declared enemy of prince Rupert, and it was he who had fomented the king's anger and provoked the displeasure he had shown towards his nephew. Rupert, who was furious with passion, was determined to see the king at any rate, to justify himself and take his revenge. Now at Worcester, he could easily have accomplished this design, for prince Maurice, his brother, was governor of that town. Of all the places to which the king could retire, Newark was that where prince Rupert could have the least opportunity of being heard; and to the great surprise of all around him, the king declared he would go to Newark[u].

The prince was soon informed of this; and, notwithstanding his prohibition, immediately set out to meet the king. Charles repeated that he would not see him; but lord Digby was uneasy

[u] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 157-159.

lest he should. Whether by chance or by design, a report was all at once received that Montrose had retrieved his misfortunes, defeated Lesley, and that he was on the frontiers of the two kingdoms. Without any further information, the king departed with lord Digby and two thousand horse, to attempt a third time to join him. They soon discovered their error; after two days' march it was known for certain that Montrose, forsaken by all his soldiers, was still wandering in the highlands. The king could do nothing but return to Newark, and this Digby himself acknowledged. But for himself, being fully resolved not to return and incur the risk of meeting prince Rupert, he persuaded the king that assistance should be sent to Montrose, and took upon himself the charge of conducting some to him. They parted; Digby continued his route towards the north with fifteen hundred horse, being the greater part of what the king had left; and Charles returned to Newark with about three or four hundred horse, all that remained of his army, and John Ashburnham, his valet for councillor[x].

When he arrived, he heard that Rupert and his brother Maurice were at Belvoir castle, only nine miles' distant, escorted by one hundred and twenty officers. He sent him word to remain there until he should receive fresh orders, being already angry that he had come so near without

[x] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 157-159.

his consent. But the prince still advanced, and many officers of the garrison of Newark, even the governor, Sir Richard Willis, went to meet him. He arrived, and without being announced, presented himself with all his retinue before the king. "I am come," he said, "to give an account of the loss of Bristol, and repel the imputations with which I am charged." Charles, as perplexed as he was irritated, scarcely answered him: it was supper time; the prince's escort withdrew, and all who remained sat down to supper; the king talked with Maurice without addressing a word to Rupert, and when supper was over he retired to his room. Rupert went and lodged at the governor's. The next day however the king consented to the calling of a council of war, and after a few hours' sitting, a declaration was given, stating that the prince had not been deficient either in courage or fidelity. No solicitations could obtain more than this from the king.

This was too little to satisfy the wishes of the prince and his partisans. They remained at Newark, openly manifesting their discontent. The king, on his side, undertook to put an end to the growing excesses of the garrison. For the command of two thousand men there were twenty-four officers, generals or colonels, whose maintenance absorbed nearly all the contributions of the county[y]. The most devoted gentle-

[y] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 158.

men of the neighbourhood also bitterly complained of the governor. Charles resolved to put another in his place, yet with a due regard to appearances, and giving him some office near his person. He therefore informed him that he appointed him to the command of his horse guards. Sir Richard refused, saying, that this promotion would be thought a disgrace, and that he was too poor for the court: "I will see to that," said the king as he parted from him. On the very same day at dinner time, while Charles was sitting at table, Sir Richard Willis, the two princes, lord Gerrard, and twenty officers of the garrison unexpectedly came in: "What your majesty told me this morning in private," said Willis, "is now a general report about the town, and is a dishonour to me." "It is not for any fault," added Rupert, "that the government is taken from Sir Richard, but because he is my friend." "All this," said lord Gerrard, "is a plot of lord Digby's, who is himself a traitor, and I will prove it."

Perplexed and astonished, Charles rose from the table, and advancing a few steps towards the door of his room, ordered Willis to follow him: "No, Sir," replied Willis; "I received a public injury, and it is a public reparation that I expect." On hearing these words, Charles lost all self-command, and pale with anger he advanced towards them, and with a loud voice and a threatening gesture, said: "Go out, go out this moment, and never appear before me again."

Agitated in their turn, they directly went out, returned to the governor's house, sounded to horse, and left the town with about two hundred cavaliers.

The whole garrison and all the inhabitants waited on the king with an address of devotion and respect. In the evening many of the disaffected sent to him for passports, begging him not to consider them as rebels. "I shall not christen them at present," said the king; "as for passports, let them have as many as they please." He had not recovered from the scene which had taken place, when he received the news that lord Digby in his march to Scotland had been beaten by a detachment of the parliamentary forces[z]; that his cavaliers were dispersed, and none knew what was become of him. So there remained neither soldiers nor hope in the north. Even Newark was no longer a place of safety. Poyntz's troops had approached, taking possession of all the neighbouring places one after another, and approaching nearer and nearer every day; it was already doubted whether the king could pass them. On the 3rd of November, at eleven o'clock at night, four or five hundred cavaliers, the remnants of several regiments, were assembled in the market-place: the king appeared, took the command of a squadron, and left Newark by the Oxford road. His beard had

[z] Towards the middle of October, 1645. Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. viii. p. 129-162; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 128-134.

been shaved; two small royalist garrisons, situated on his road, had received previous information of his coming; he travelled day and night, easily avoiding the detachments of the enemy, and the towns in their occupation, and thought himself saved when he reached Oxford[a], where he found his council, his court, his usual customs, and a little rest[b].

Troubles, however, soon overtook him even here. While he was wandering from county to county, and from town to town, Fairfax and Cromwell, having nothing to fear from him, and certain that Poyntz would be sufficient to harass him, had followed the course of their victories in the west. In less than five months, fifteen places of importance, Bridgewater[c], Bath[d], Sherborne[e], Devizes[f], Winchester[g], Basing-House[h], Tiverton[i], Monmouth[k], etc., had fallen into their hands. To those garrisons who showed themselves disposed to accept their proposals, they unhesitatingly granted honourable conditions, but if any resistance was made they immediately proceeded to storm[l]. For a short time the clubmen gave them some uneasiness. After having dispersed them several times by fair words, Crom-

[a] November 6th, 1645.

[b] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. viii. p. 162-170; Walker, p. 146, 147; Evelyn, Memoirs, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 109, 110.

[c] July 23rd, 1645.

[d] July 29th.

[e] August 15th.

[f] September 23rd.

[g] September 28th.

[h] October 14th.

[i] October 19th.

[k] October 22nd.

[l] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 89.

well at last found himself obliged to attack them. He did it suddenly and roughly; being skilful in passing all at once from gentleness to severity, and from severity to gentleness. By his advice parliament declared that all assemblies of this nature were treasonable[m]; some of the leaders were arrested; the strict discipline of the army quieted the fears of the people; the clubmen soon disappeared; and when the king re-entered Oxford, the situation of his party in the west was so far beyond hope that he wrote to the prince of Wales[n] to order him to prepare himself to pass over to the continent[o].

As for himself, he was without plan or design; at one time a prey to the keenest sorrow, and at another seeking to forget in repose the feeling of his impotency. He nevertheless invited the council to point out some expedient to him, any mode of proceeding from which any favourable result might be expected. There was no choice to be made: the council proposed a message to parliament, and the request of a safeguard for four negotiators. The king consented without a single objection[p].

Never had parliament been less inclined to peace. One hundred and thirty members had

[m] August 23rd, 1645; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 390; Whitelocke, p. 165.

[n] November 7th, 1645.

[o] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. viii. p. 143.

[p] Clarendon, vol. viii. p. 201-204; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 405. The message was of the 5th of December, 1645.

just been elected in the place of those who had left it to follow the king. This measure, which had been for a long time adjourned, first from caution, then from the difficulty of its execution, and afterwards intentionally, had at last been adopted at the request of the independents, who were eager to take advantage of their success on the field of battle, to strengthen their party in the commons[q]. They made use of every kind of influence to turn the elections in their own favour, appointing them separately, and even causing them to be in some instances delayed or hastened according to their chances of success; making use of violence and deceit, as conquerors still in a minority. Several men, who soon became celebrated in the party, in this way were introduced into parliament; Fairfax, Ludlow, Ireton, Blake, Sidney, Hutchinson, and Fleetwood. Still the elections did not everywhere follow their wishes: many counties sent to Westminster men, who, though they opposed the court, were strangers to faction, and friends to

[q] It was on the 13th of September, 1644, that it was first proposed in the house of commons to fill up the vacant places. The proposal brought no result till the month of August, 1645. On the 21st of that month, having received a petition from the borough of Southwark, the house voted by a majority of only three voices that five of the absent members should be replaced, namely, the members for Southwark, Bury St. Edmund's, and Hythe. One hundred and forty-six new members were elected in the five last months of 1645. Out of fifty-eight who signed the order of execution of Charles the First, seventeen were members elected at this epoch. In 1646 there were eighty-nine other members elected; Journals of the House of Commons.

legal order and peace. But when they got to parliament they were without experience, without connections or leaders, and but little disposed to rally round their ancient friends the presbyterians, who had most of them lost their reputation of uprightness, energy, and skill. They drew but little attention, and exercised scarcely any influence; and the first effect of this filling up of the house was to give a greater degree of boldness and power to the independents[r]. The acts of parliament from that time assumed a ruder character. It was discovered that during their residence in London the king's commissioners were intriguing, and forming plots to stir up the people; it was decided[s] that henceforward no commissioners should be received, that there should be no more negotiations; that the houses should draw up their proposals in the form of bills, and that the king should merely be requested to adopt or reject them as if he were residing at Whitehall, and according to the custom of usual times. The prince of Wales[t] offered to mediate between the king and the people, and Fairfax conveyed his letter to the house; "thinking it a duty," he said, "not to destroy in their bloom the kindly hopes of the

[r] Hollis, Memoirs, p. 62-67 in the Collection; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 187, 190, 195 ibid.; Whitelocke, Memorials, etc. p. 153, 154, 160, 165 ibid.; Old Parl. Hist., vol. ix. p. 12; vol. xiv. p. 306-309.

[s] August 11th, 1645; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 390.

[t] September 20th, 1645; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 392; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. viii. p. 109.

youthful peacemaker." He did not even receive an answer. The term of Cromwell's command was nearly expired; it was protracted four months longer without any reason being given for it[u]. More rigour than ever was employed against the royalists: by an act, one-fifth of the revenue of sequestered estates had been granted to the wives and children of delinquents; this act was now repealed[x]. By another act, which was for a long time opposed by the lords, the sale of a considerable portion of the possessions of bishops and delinquents was commanded[y]. In the camp and in the mode of warfare the same revolution took place. It was forbidden to give quarter to any of the Irish taken in England bearing arms[z]. They were shot by hundreds[a], tied back to back, and thrown into the sea[b]. Even among the English, that gentleness and politeness which revealed in both parties the same rank, education, and manners, and the habits and love of peace, although fighting against each other, which was often witnessed in the first campaigns, was no longer to be found. In the parliamentarian ranks, Fairfax alone retained this elegant humanity: round him, officers and men

[u] August 12th, 1645; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 390.

[x] September 8th, 1645; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 209.

[y] September 13th, 1645; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 391; Whitelocke, p. 146.

[z] October 24th, 1644; Rushworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 783.

[a] Baillie, Letters, vol. ii. p. 164; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 231.

[b] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 358.

were brave and good soldiers, who had lately risen to favour, but of rough manners, or fanatics of a dark and violent disposition, whose only aim was to conquer, and who saw in the cavaliers nothing but enemies. On their side, the cavaliers, irritated, and deeming it an offence to be conquered by such adversaries, sought consolation or revenge in ridicule, epigrams, and songs, which were daily of a more insulting nature[c]. Thus the war had acquired a hard and even a cruel character, as being carried on between those who only met to despise and hate each other. At this time, too, the discord, which had till then been concealed, between the Scots and the house, broke out. The Scots complained that their army was not paid; the house, that an army of allies should pillage and devastate the counties in which they were quartered as if they had been in an enemy's country[d]. In short, the excitement was everywhere more violent, and hatred more profound; harsher and more decisive measures left but little hope that peace would be restored, and put an end to, or even

[c] The most remarkable of these songs are those which were composed against David Lesley and his Scots, when he left the siege of Hereford to go to the assistance of Scotland, almost entirely subdued by Montrose, whom he defeated on the 13th of September, 1645, at the battle of Philip-Haugh. No defeat had yet snatched such bright hopes from the cavaliers, and their anger was manifested in a vein of poetical animation which was then very rare. See the most energetic of these songs in the Elucidations and Historical Documents at the end of this volume.

[d] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 393, 394, 398, 405.

suspend for a little, the rapid course of revolution.

The king's proposals were refused, and a safeguard denied to his negotiators. He urged the request again by two other messages, but still without success; he was told that the intrigues of his courtiers in the city were such as to prevent their being allowed to remain there[e]. He offered to come himself to Westminster to treat with the parliament[f]; but notwithstanding all the Scots could say, this proposal was as ill received as the others[g]. Again he renewed his entreaties[h], less in the hope of success than to lower the parliament in the eyes of the people who wished for peace. But his enemies had acquired a sure means of discrediting him: they solemnly proclaimed that they at last possessed the sure proofs that his words were false; that he had just agreed with the Irish not to a suspension of arms, but a treaty of alliance; that ten thousand of these rebels, under the command of the earl of Glamorgan, were soon to land at Chester; that the price of this odious help was the complete abrogation of all the penal laws against the catholics, together with the liberty of their worship and the acknowledgment of their right to all the churches and lands of which they had ever been in possession since

[e] December 26th, 1645; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 414.
[f] December 26th and 30th, 1645; ibid. col. 415-417.
[g] January 13th, 1646; Parl. Hist., col. 418-421.
[h] January 15th, 1646; ibid. col. 421.

the commencement of their insurrection; in short, the triumph of popery in Ireland and the ruin of the protestants. The articles of the treaty, and several letters relating to it, were found in the carriage of the titular archbishop of Tuam, a leader of the rebels, who was killed by chance in a skirmish under the walls of Sligo[i]. The committee of the two kingdoms, who for three months had held these documents in reserve for some important occasion, now laid them before the house; parliament immediately ordered that they should be published[k].

The trouble of the king was now very great; these facts were real, and parliament did not yet know all. Charles, for nearly two years[l], unknown to his party, his council, and even sometimes concealing his measures from the marquis of Ormond his lieutenant in Ireland, whose zeal he did not doubt, and whose assistance was absolutely necessary to him, had been carrying on himself this negotiation. Lord Herbert, a Roman catholic, the eldest son of the marquis of Worcester, who had been recently created earl of Glamorgan, alone possessed the king's entire confidence in this affair. He was brave, generous, inconsiderate; passionately devoted to his master in peril, and to his oppressed religion; it

[i] October 17th, 1645.

[k] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 428; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 238, sqq.

[l] The first commission of the king to Glamorgan was on the first of April, 1644.

was Glamorgan who undertook to go, as occasion required, from England to Ireland, or from Dublin to Kilkenny, to perform what Ormond refused to do, and knowing alone how far the king's concessions would go. By his intervention Charles carried on a correspondence with Rinuccini, the pope's nuncio, who had lately arrived in Ireland [m], and with the pope himself. In a word, the king had formally authorised him, by an act signed by his own hand, and known to them alone [n], to grant the Irish all he should judge necessary to obtain efficacious help from them, promising to approve all, ratify all, notwithstanding any laws to the contrary, only desiring that nothing should transpire before the hour when the whole might be made known. The treaty had been concluded the preceding 20th of August; and Glamorgan, who was still in Ireland, anxiously hastened its execution. This was the secret of the king's frequent visits and long sojourns at Ragland castle, the residence of the marquis of Worcester, and of those mysterious hopes at which he sometimes hinted in the midst of his reverses [o].

It was known almost at the same time at Oxford and in Dublin that this treaty was disco-

[m] October 22nd, 1645.

[n] Dated the 12th of March, 1645.

[o] Mr. Lingard has collected and clearly brought forward all the facts connected with this negotiation, of which he possesses the principal original documents. History of England, vol. vi. p. 537-541; note 1, p. 655-664, edit. in 4to. 1825.

vered in London. Ormond immediately saw how much this would injure the king's cause with his own party. Whether he was as he affirmed, really ignorant that Charles had authorised such concessions, or whether he wished to give him a chance to disown them, he directly caused Glamorgan to be arrested[p], as having exceeded the limits of his authority, and having seriously injured the king by granting to the rebels what the laws denied them. Steadfastly devoted to him whom he served, Glamorgan kept silent; he did not exhibit the secret instructions signed 'Charles' which he had in his possession; he even said that the king was not obliged to ratify what he had thought fit to promise in his name. Charles hastened to disown any concurrence on his part, in a proclamation addressed to the house[q], and in his official letters to Dublin[r]: he declared that Glamorgan had no other commission than to recruit for soldiers, and second the efforts of the lord-lieutenant; but in both parties subterfuge was an old and useless habit; no one, not even the people, were deceived by it. After a few days[s] Glamorgan regained his liberty, and under the promise of the same concessions, began to raise an army in Ireland to be sent as soon as possible into England. The parliament voted that the king's justification was

[p] January 4th, 1646.
[q] January 29th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 435.
[r] January 31st; Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. iii. p. 445-447.
[s] February 1st, 1646.

not sufficient[t]. Cromwell for the last time received orders to retain his command[u], and Charles found himself once more obliged to seek self-preservation in war as if he were able to carry it on.

He had only two bodies of troops left: one in Cornwall, under the command of lord Hopton, the other on the frontiers of Wales, under lord Astley. Towards the middle of January, the prince of Wales, who was still the governor of the west, but forsaken by his generals Goring and Greenville, had sent to lord Hopton, who had long been the leader in those counties, to conjure him to take the command of what remained of the army. "My lord," answered Hopton, "it is now the custom for people who will not submit to what they are enjoined, to say that it is against their honour; that their honour would not suffer them to do this or that: for my part, I cannot at present obey your highness without resolving to lose my honour; for with the troops you give me how can I retain it? Their friends are the only persons who fear them, their enemies laugh at them; they are only terrible in the day of pillage, and resolute to run away. Nevertheless, since your highness has thought fit to summon me, I am ready to follow you, even at the risk of losing my honour;" and he took the command of about seven or

[t] January 31st; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 438.
[u] January 27th; ibid., col. 428.

eight thousand men. But he was not long before he became as odious to them as their excesses were to him; even the brave, having been accustomed under Goring to a less troublesome and more profitable warfare, could not bear his discipline and vigilance. Fairfax, still anxious to subdue the west, soon marched against them; and on the 16th of February Hopton was defeated in a battle rather disastrous than bloody, at Torrington on the borders of Cornwall. He vainly endeavoured, by retiring from town to town, to recruit a part of his army; he was destitute both of officers and soldiers: "I have never," said he, "appointed a place of rendezvous to a regiment but it has arrived reduced to half, or else two hours too late. Fairfax followed him closely, and drew every day nearer. Hopton, at the head of the small corps which still remained faithful, soon found himself driven to the Land's-end. At Truro he was informed that the people of the county, being tired of war, had resolved to put an end to it by seizing the prince of Wales and giving him up to parliament. The hour of need was come; the prince embarked, followed by his council, but only to take refuge in the isle of Scilly, on English land, almost in sight of the coast. Being relieved from this care, Hopton was desirous of attempting another battle; but his troops called aloud for a capitulation. Fairfax offered him honourable conditions; still he eluded them: his officers declared that if he did not consent, they

would treat without him. "Then treat," said he, "but not for me;" and neither he nor lord Capel would be included in the capitulation. When the articles were signed and the army dispersed they embarked to join the prince of Wales; and a few insignificant garrisons were now all that the king possessed in the west[x].

Lord Astley was no less unfortunate: he was at Worcester with three thousand men; the king ordered him to join him at Oxford, and set out himself with fifteen hundred horse to meet him. He was desirous to assemble round him a sufficient corps to enable him to wait for reinforcements from Ireland, of which he still retained hopes; but before they met[y], Sir William Brereton and colonel Morgan, at the head of a parliamentary detachment, overtook Astley, whose movements they had been watching for the last month, at Stow in Gloucestershire. The cavaliers were completely defeated; eighteen hundred of them were killed or made prisoners; the others dispersed. Astley himself, after a desperate resistance, fell into the hands of the enemy; he was old, fatigued by the battle, and walked with difficulty; the soldiers, touched at the sight of his grey hairs and by his courage, brought him a drum for a seat: he sat down upon it; and, addressing Brereton's officers, he said: "Gentlemen, you have done your work,

[x] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. viii. p. 172-189; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 99-115.

[y] March 22nd, 1646.

and may now go to play, unless you choose to fall out among yourselves[z]."

This was the only hope Charles had now left, and he hastened to try how far he could make use of it. He had for a long time, and even at the very time he was loading some of the presbyterian leaders with attention, maintained a secret correspondence with the independents, particularly with Vane, who was as active in intrigue as he was passionate in his enthusiasm. The secretary of state, Nicholas, had written some time before[a] to Vane to urge him to act in such a manner as to enable the king to reach London and treat personally with the parliament, promising that if the house required the triumph of presbyterian discipline, the royalists would join his friends to extirpate from the kingdom this tyrannical dominion and defend each other's liberty[b]. What Vane's answer to this letter was is not known; but after Astley's defeat the king himself wrote to him: "Be sure," he said, "that all things shall take place according to my promise; by all that is dear to man, I conjure you to hasten your good offices; if not, it will be too late, and I shall perish before I reap any benefit from them. I cannot tell you all my necessities; but I am sure that if I could, you would lay aside all other considerations to comply with my

[z] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 139-141; Old Parl. Hist., vol. xiv. p. 297-302.

[a] March 2nd, 1646.

[b] Evelyn, Memoirs, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 115.

request. This is everything; trust in me; I will fully recompense your services. I have said all I have to say; if in four days I have no answer, I shall be obliged to have recourse to some other means. May God guide you! I have done my duty[c]." At the same time he addressed a message to the house, offering to disband all his troops, to open all his garrisons, and to come and take up his residence at Whitehall[d].

At this proposal, and on hearing the report that, without waiting for an answer, the king was very likely to arrive, the greatest alarm reigned in Westminster; politicians or zealots, presbyterians or independents, all knew that if the king once made his appearance at Whitehall, it would no longer be against him that the riots of the city would break out; all parties were alike resolved not to fall in his power. They directly took the most violent measures to prevent such a peril: it was forbidden to receive the king, or to go near him if he came to London, or to give to any one of whatever degree, the chance of approaching him. The committee of the militia received orders to prevent the assembling of mobs; to arrest whoever should come with the king; to prevent crowds from assembling round him; and even if necessary to secure his own person. Papists, delinquents, cashiered officers, adventurers, whoever had shown them-

[c] Evelyn, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 116; Clarendon, State Papers, vol. ii. p. 227; the letter is without either date or signature.

[d] March 23rd, 1646; Parl. Hist. vol. iii. col. 451.

selves opposed to parliament, received orders to leave London in less than three days[e]. At last a court-martial was appointed[f], and the punishment of death decreed against any person who should hold direct or indirect intercourse with the king; or who should come without a pass from a camp or town belonging to the king; or who should receive or conceal any man who had carried arms against the parliament; or who should wilfully allow a prisoner of war to escape; &c. &c. Never had parliament passed an act which bore the impress of so much fear.

Vane left the king's letter without an answer, or at least without effect.

In the meantime, Fairfax's troops were advancing by forced marches to besiege Oxford; already colonel Rainsborough and two other regiments were encamped in sight of the place. The king offered to give himself up to Rainsborough if he would pledge himself by an oath to conduct him immediately to parliament. Rainsborough refused. In a few days the siege could not fail to be completed, and whatever might be its duration, the result was certain; the king would fall as a prisoner of war into the hands of his enemies[g].

One only refuge remained to him; the Scottish camp. During the last two months M. de

[e] March 31st and April 3rd, 1646; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 452-453; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 249.

[f] April 3rd, 1646; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 252.

[g] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 257.

Montreuil, a French minister, more because he was touched by Charles's distress than to obey the instructions of Mazarin, had been busy to secure him this last resource. Having been disheartened at first by the Scottish commissioners residing in London, and convinced by a journey to Edinburgh that there was nothing to hope from the Scottish parliament, he at last addressed himself to some of the leaders of the army, who were besieging Newark; and their dispositions had appeared to him so favourable, that he thought he could safely promise the king in the name and under the protection of the king of France, that the Scots would receive him as their legitimate sovereign, would shelter him and his from all danger, and would even concur with him by every means in their power to re-establish peace. But the indecisions and retractions of the Scottish officers, who were willing to save the king but not to offend the parliament, soon convinced Montreuil that he had said too much, and he hastened to communicate his error to the king. But necessity became daily more urgent, and rendered Charles and Montreuil less scrupulous; the queen, who was in Paris, and who had also correspondents and agents in the Scottish army, exhorted her husband to trust himself among them. In later conferences the officers made some promises to Montreuil, of which he informed the king, but carefully repeating that the step was hazardous, that any other refuge would be preferable, but that if he could not find

any other, his person, at least, would be in safety among the Scots[h].

Charles, whether he was now decided or not, could wait no longer; Fairfax had already reached Newbury, and the siege in three days would be completed. On the 27th of April, at midnight, followed only by Ashburnham and a minister, Dr. Hudson, who was well acquainted with the roads, the king left Oxford on horseback, disguised as Ashburnham's servant, with their common portmanteau behind him; and, at the same time, to baffle all pursuit, three men went out in the same manner at each of the gates of the town. The king took the road to London. When he arrived at Harrow-on-the-Hill, in sight of his capital, he stopped and gazed upon it with a heart full of anxiety; he could have gone down, re-entered Whitehall, and appeared all at once in the midst of the city, whose inhabitants would perhaps return to him. But nothing suited him less than any bold or singular resolution, for he was deficient in presence of mind, and particularly dreaded those chances in which his dignity might be compromised. After a few hours' hesitation, he left the road to London and went towards the north, though slowly and as if by chance, like one who is yet undetermined. Montreuil had promised to come

[h] In his letters of the 15th, 16th, and 20th of April; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 247-255; State Papers, vol. ii. p. 211-216.

and meet him at Harborough, in Leicestershire, but he did not find him there. The king, alarmed by his absence, sent Hudson to see for him and returned to the west, wandering from town to town, from castle to castle, particularly along the coast, continually changing his disguise, inquiring everywhere for Montrose, and strongly possessed by the desire of joining him. But this also was an enterprise too long and too troublesome for him to undertake. Hudson returned; change had taken place: Montreuil still promised if not an agreeable at least a safe retreat in the Scottish camp. Charles at last made up his mind, as much from weariness as choice; and on the 5th of May, nine days after he had left Oxford, Montreuil introduced him early in the morning into Kilham, the head-quarters of the Scots[1].

On seeing the king, the earl of Leven and his officers affected extreme surprise; the parliamentary commissioners were immediately informed of his arrival, and expresses were sent to announce it in Edinburgh and London. Officers and solders treated the king with profound respect; but, in the evening, under the pretext of doing him honour, a strong guard was placed at the door of his chamber; and when, to discover what was his situation, he attempted to

[1] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 267; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. viii. p. 258; State Papers, vol. ii. p. 288; Whitelocke, p. 214.

give the watchword to them, the earl of Leven said, "I beg your majesty's pardon, but, as I am the oldest soldier here, your majesty will permit me to perform that duty[k]."

[k] Malcolm Laing, Hist. of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 352, note 7.

HISTORY OF

THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES I.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

1646—1647.

It was soon known in London[a] that the king had left Oxford, but nothing indicated where he was or whither he intended to go. There was a report that he was concealed in the city, and it was again declared that whoever should receive him should be condemned to death. Fairfax sent word that he had set out for the east; and two officers, whose devotion could be relied on, the colonels Russel and Wharton, were immediately despatched with orders to seek him everywhere, and bring him at any rate[b]. The royalist and parliamentary parties were both plunged in the same uncertainty; and they bore, the first their fears, the latter their hopes, with equal impatience.

On the evening of the 6th of May, the news at length arrived that the king was in the Scottish

[a] May 2nd, 1646.

[b] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 267; Whitelocke, p. 209.

camp. The next day the commons voted that the two houses of parliament alone had the right to dispose of his person, and that he should be conducted to Warwick castle. The lords refused their sanction to this vote; but they approved that Poyntz, who was quartered at Newark, should receive orders to watch the movements of the Scottish army; and Fairfax himself was commanded to be ready to march in case of need[c].

The Scots, on their side, anxious to remove further towards the north, obtained an order from the king, on the very day of his arrival, for lord Bellasis, the governor of Newark, to open its gates to them; they gave up the town to Poyntz; and a few hours afterwards, having placed the king in their advanced guard, they marched towards Newcastle, on the frontiers of their own country[d].

The independents were full of anxiety and anger. For the last year everything had prospered with them; being masters of the army, they had been everywhere conquerors, and had made a deep impression by their victories on the imagination of the people; all bold spirits ranked under their banners; the energetic, the ambitious, all those who nourished exalted hopes, who had their fortune to make, or who meditated great designs. Even genius could only

[c] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 465, 466.

[d] Ibid., col. 467; May, Hist. of the Long Parl., vol. ii. p. 329 in the Collection; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 269-271.

find a place and liberty among them. Milton[e], who was then young, but already remarkable for the elegance and extent of his knowledge, had just claimed, in language more eloquent than had been known till then, liberty of conscience, liberty of the press, and the right of divorce[f]; and the presbyterian clergy, incensed at his boldness, had reported him to the house, but to no effect; and they placed among what they called the sins of parliament the toleration of such writings[g]. Another, who was already known by his enthusiastic resistance to tyranny, John Lilburne, was beginning his indefatigable war against the lords, the judges, the lawyers; and already the most clamorous popularity was attached to his name[h]. The number and confidence of the dissenting congregations[i], who were all connected with the independents, daily increased. It was in vain that the presbyterians had at

[e] Born in London, December 9th, 1608.

[f] In five pamphlets against episcopal government and on the reform of the church, published in 1641 and 1642; in a pamphlet entitled, 'The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,' published in 1644; and in a pamphlet entitled, 'Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing,' published also in 1644; Milton's Prose Works, vol. i. p. xx. xxii. xxiii. xxv. p. 1-213; fol. edit. 2 vols. London, 1738.

[g] Ibid., vol. i. p. 23.

[h] Old Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 19 and 28.

[i] The number of anabaptist meetings, for instance, was already fifty-four in 1644. Thomas Edwards, a presbyterian minister, published in 1645, under the title of 'Gangræna,' a catalogue of those sects, to call the rigour of parliament upon them; he counted sixteen principal ones, and he had omitted several: Neal. Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 310-313.

length obtained from parliament the exclusive and official establishment of their church[k]; with the aid of lawyers and freethinkers, the independents had succeeded in maintaining the supremacy of parliament in religious affairs[l]; and the measure, thus weakened, was but slowly executed[m]. In the meantime the private fortunes of the leaders of the party, that of Cromwell in particular, increased rapidly: when they came from the army to Westminster, both houses received them with solemn homage[n]; when they returned to the army, gifts of lands and money, offices and gratuities, were lavished on their creatures, which both attested and extended their influence[o]. Everywhere, in short, in London and the country, whether as regarded poli-

[k] By several ordinances or votes of the 23rd of August, 20th of October, and 8th of November, 1645, and the 20th of February and 14th of March, 1646; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 205, 210, 224.

[l] Neal, Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 231-270; Journals of the House of Commons, 25th of September, 10th of October, 1645; 5th and 23rd of March, 22nd of April, 1646; Baillie, Letters, vol. ii. p. 194, 196, 198; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 459.

[m] The presbyterian church was never completely established anywhere but in London and Lancashire; Malcolm Laing's Hist. of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 347.

[n] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 463, 529.

[o] The parliament gave, first, to Cromwell, 7th of February, 1646, an income of 2,500*l.* derived from landed property, taken from the estates of the marquis of Worcester, Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 439; secondly, to Fairfax, a few months after, an income of 5000*l.*, Whitelocke, p. 228, 239; thirdly, to Sir William Brereton, in October, 1646, a gratuity of 5000*l.*; fourthly, to Sir Peter Killigrew, in December, 1646, a gratuity of 2000*l.*; ibid., p. 228, 235, etc. etc.

tics or religion, interests or ideas, the gradual change of society had more and more inclined in favour of this party. In the midst of so much prosperity, just as power was within their reach, they found themselves in danger of losing all; for, indeed everything would be lost if the king and the presbyterians allied against them.

They strained every nerve to ward off this blow. Had they been at liberty to follow their desires, they would perhaps have commanded the army to march immediately against the Scots, and bring back the king by force; but notwithstanding their success in the late elections, they were obliged to act with more reserve; they had not a majority in the upper house, and in the commons, they only possessed a precarious ascendancy, derived rather from the inexperience than from the real feelings of the members recently elected. They had recourse to indirect and secret measures; they sought by all kinds of means, crafty or bold, open or clandestine, to offend the Scots or irritate the people against them, in the hope of causing a rupture; sometimes their messengers were stopped, and their despatches intercepted, even at the gates of London, by subalterns, against whom they claimed justice in vain[p]; sometimes a multitude of petitions came against them from the north, giving accounts of their exactions, their excesses, and

[p] May 9th, 1646; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 469; Whitelocke, p. 209.

of the misfortunes the country had to endure on account of their sojourn [q]. Alderman Foot presented a petition in their favour in the name of the city [r], which requested, on the contrary, the repression of the new sectaries, who were the cause of the disturbances in church and state; the lords thanked the common council for it, but scarcely did the commons vouchsafe to answer it. There were still a few regiments left, the remnant of Essex's army, among whom presbyterian feelings prevailed; and a regiment quartered in Wiltshire, under the command of major-general Massey, the valiant defender of Gloucester, was one of these; complaints of all kinds came against them [s], and the independents were at last successful in getting them disbanded. In both houses, in the newspapers, in all public places, particularly in the army, the independents only spoke of the presbyterians with contempt; sometimes expatiating on their avidity, at others laughing at their parsimony; addressing themselves with gross but efficacious deceit to national prejudices and popular distrust, skilfully seizing every opportunity of exciting anger and contempt towards their enemies [t]. At last, the commons voted that the Scottish army were no longer wanted; that a hundred thousand

[q] Whitelocke, p. 212, 213, 221, 222, 223.

[r] May 26th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 474-480; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 202.

[s] Whitelocke, p. 214, 215, 229.

[t] Hollis, Memoirs, p. 67-71.

pounds should be given them, an account be demanded of what more they claimed, and that they should be requested to return to their own country [u].

These measures had not the effect which was expected; the Scots showed neither anger nor ill temper; but their conduct was mean and wavering, which suited their enemies still better. The perplexity of those leaders who were inclined to serve the king was extreme. Charles, incurable in his duplicity, because he did not think himself bound to fulfil any engagement made with rebellious subjects, meditated their ruin while he employed their support. He wrote to lord Digby, a few days before he left Oxford, saying: "I do not despair of persuading the presbyterians or the independents to join with me in exterminating one another; and then I shall really be king again [x]." On their side, the presbyterians, whether Scots or English, being governed by their preachers, and passionately devoted to the covenant and the triumph of their church, would not hear of any accommodation with the king, nor allow that any assistance should be rendered to him, which did not tend to the establishment of their religion; so that the most moderate, and those who were most anxious for the future, could neither trust in the king nor abate any of their pretensions.

[u] June 11th, 1646; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 484.

[x] March 26th, 1646; Carte, Life of Ormond, vol. iii. p. 452.

In this dilemma, assailed at once by the accusations of their adversaries and the necessities of their party, their words contradicted each other, and their actions did the same; they wished for peace, promised the king they would obtain it, and were constantly talking with their friends of the dread they had of the independents; never had the declarations of their zeal for the covenant, their firm attachment to parliament, and their inviolable union with their brethren the English, been so multiplied and so obsequiously repeated[y]; and never had they shown themselves so inflexible and suspicious towards the king and the cavaliers. Six of the most illustrious companions of Montrose, who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Philip-Haugh, were condemned and executed; the only motive for this rigour was revenge; the civil war in England had not given a single instance of so wanton an act of cruelty[z]. Charles, when he left Oxford, had written to the marquis of Ormond that he was only induced to seek a refuge in the Scottish camp by their promise of supporting him and his just rights if it were necessary[a]; and though their language was probably not so explicit as that of which the king made use in his letter, it cannot be doubted but that they had in fact given him reason to hope for their support.

[y] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 471, 473, 488; Old Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 8.

[z] Malcolm Laing, Hist. of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 334.

[a] April 3rd, 1646; Carte, Life of Ormond, vol. iii. p. 455.

Ormond published the king's letter[b]; the Scots hastened to contradict its contents, and directly called it "a damnable lie[c]."

More rigour than ever was employed about the king's person; all who had carried arms in his defence were prevented from approaching him; his letters were in almost every instance intercepted[d]. At last, to give a signal mark of their fidelity to the cause of the covenant, the Scottish leaders summoned the king to allow himself to be instructed in the true doctrine of Christ; and Henderson, the most celebrated preacher of the party, went officially to Newcastle to undertake the conversion of the captive monarch[e].

Charles kept up the controversy with skill and dignity; immoveable in his adherence to the Anglican church, but arguing without bitterness or anger against his adversary, who was himself gentle and respectful in his behaviour. While this discussion was going on, the king wrote to the royalist governors who still held out, to bid them give up their towns[f]; to the parliament, to entreat them to forward their proposals with-

[b] May 21st, 1646.

[c] June 8th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 480-483.

[d] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. viii. p. 271; Whitelocke, p. 210, 214, 220.

[e] The controversy began on the 29th of May, and lasted till the 16th of July. All the notes which passed between Henderson and the king have been collected in 'The Works of King Charles the Martyr,' London, 1662, folio edit. p. 155-187.

[f] June 10th, 1646; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 487.

out further delay[g]; to Ormond, to enjoin the continuation of his negotiations with the Irish, though at the very same time he commanded him officially to cease them[h]; and, finally, to Glamorgan, who was still the only person who was really informed of his secret designs, to whom he said: "I shall be glad if you can procure me a large sum of money, by engaging my kingdoms as security; and as soon as I shall have recovered the possession of them, I will liberally repay the debt. Tell the nuncio that if I can by any means put myself under his or your protection I shall certainly not fail to do so, for I plainly see that all besides despise me[i]."

The proposals of parliament at last arrived[k]; the earls of Pembroke and Suffolk, and four members of the commons, were charged to present them. One of them, Mr. Goodwin, began to read them: "I beg your pardon," said the king, interrupting him, "but have you any power to treat?" "No, Sir." "In that case, save the honour of the commission, an honest express could have done as much as you." Goodwin finished reading the proposals. "I imagine," said the king, that you do not expect a very prompt reply; for the business is of a serious

[g] June 10th; ibid., col. 486.

[h] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 487; Lingard, Hist. of England, vol. vi. p. 561, 4to. edit.

[i] July 20th, 1646; Birch, Inquiry into Glamorgan's Transactions, etc. p. 245.

[k] July 23rd, 1646.

nature." "Sir," replied lord Pembroke, "we have orders to stay no longer than ten days." "Very well," replied Charles, "I will send you back in proper time[l]."

Several days passed without the commissioners hearing any thing from the king. He sorrowfully read the proposals over and over again; they were more hard and humiliating than any of those which he had so strenuously refused. He was requested to adopt the covenant; to abolish completely the episcopal church, and to give up the command of the army, the navy, and the militia, for twenty years, to parliament; in a word, to consent that seventy-one of his most faithful friends should be nominally excluded from any amnesty, and that all his party, at least all those who had taken arms in his cause, should be excluded from all public functions as long as it should please the parliament[m]. Still every one persuaded him to accept of these conditions. M. de Bellièvre, the French ambassador, who arrived at Newcastle the day on which the proposals of parliament were delivered, counselled him in the name of his court to do so[n]. Montreuil brought him letters from the queen, who ardently pressed him to comply[o]; having received a hint from Bellièvre, she even sent

[l] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 513.

[m] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 499-512.

[n] Ibid., col. 512; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. viii. col. 273-275.

[o] Whitelocke, p. 221.

Sir William. Davenant immediately from Paris with orders to tell the king that his resistance was disapproved of by all his friends. "By what friends?" said Charles, pettishly. "By lord Jermyn, Sir." "Jermyn does not understand the affairs of the church." "Lord Colepepper is of the same opinion." "Colepepper has no religion; what does Hyde think of it?" "We do not know, Sir; the chancellor is not at Paris; he has forsaken the prince, and has chosen to remain in Jersey, instead of accompanying the prince to the queen; her majesty is very much offended by this behaviour." "My wife is wrong; the chancellor is an honest man, who will never forsake me, nor the prince, nor the church; I am very sorry that he is not with my son." Davenant still insisted with the warmth of a poet and the thoughtlessness of a libertine; the king became angry, and drove him rudely from his presence[p]. The entreaties of the presbyterians were no less urgent; several towns in Scotland, Edinburgh among others, addressed petitions to the king[q] to entreat him to give his consent; the city of London wished to do the same, but positive commands from the commons prevented it[r]. At last, threats were joined to entreaties; the general assembly of the Scottish church requested that if the king refused the

[p] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. viii. p. 275.

[q] Whitelocke, p. 220, 223.

[r] Old Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 5-7; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 205.

covenant, he should not on any occasion be allowed to come into Scotland[s]; and in a solemn audience, in presence of the Scottish commissioners, the chancellor Lowden declared to him, that if he persisted in his refusal, an entrance into Scotland would indeed be forbidden him, and that in England it was very likely they would drive him from the throne, and institute another form of government[t].

"But all was of no avail against the king's pride, his religious scruples, and also some secret hopes with which he was still buoyed up by credulous or intriguing friends[u]. After having delayed his answer from day to day, he sent for the commissioners on the 1st of August, and delivered to them a written message, in which, without exactly refusing the proposals, he requested to be allowed to go to London to treat personally with parliament[x].

The independents could not contain their joy. When the commissioners returned, a vote of thanks was proposed to them, as was usual on such occasions: "It is the king who must be thanked," cried a member. "What will become of us now that he has refused our proposals?" anxiously inquired a presbyterian. "What would have become of us if he had accepted them?"

[s] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. viii. p. 283.
[t] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 319.
[u] Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 207.
[x] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 513-516.

replied an independent[y]. A message came from the Scottish commissioners offering to surrender all the places they occupied, and withdraw their army from England[z]. The lords voted that their brothers the Scots had deserved well of the country; the commons did not join in this vote, but adopted an ordinance by which it was forbidden to speak evil of the Scots or to print any thing against them[a]. For awhile, both parties, one disheartened and the other tranquillized by the king's refusal, appeared to be solely occupied in ruling in concert their interests and debates.

But truces caused by prudence or vexation between adverse passions, are of short duration. The offer made by the Scots to retire into their own country, gave rise to two questions which must be solved; namely, how the arrears which were due to them, and which they had claimed so long, should be settled, and who should dispose of the king's person? No sooner were these questions proposed, than the struggle between the two parties became renewed.

On the first the presbyterians easily gained the advantage: the demands of the Scots, it is true, were exorbitant; without reckoning what had been paid, they still claimed 700,000*l.* without mentioning, they said, the enormous losses

[y] Burnet, Memoirs of the Hamiltons, p. 283.

[z] August 10th, 1646; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 516.

[a] August 14th; Old Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 61-63. This ordinance only passed the commons by a majority of one hundred and thirty voices against one hundred and two.

which Scotland had endured in consequence of her alliance with England, and of which they left the valuation to the equity of parliament [b]. The independents railed with bitter irony against these expensive brothers; in their turn they opposed to the claims of the Scots a minute account of the sums received by them, and of their exactions in the north of the kingdom; according to which account, Scotland, on the contrary, was 400,000*l.* in debt to England [c]. Such recrimination, however, could not be admitted nor even seriously debated by sensible men; the retirement of the Scots was evidently necessary; the northern counties anxiously solicited that it should be effected; to obtain it they must be paid, for a war would be much dearer, and be far more dangerous to parliament. The meddling obstinacy of the independents seemed the effects of blind passion or the manœuvres of a faction; the presbyterians, on the contrary, promised to bring the Scots to more moderate terms: all the wavering, the mistrustful, or the reserved, those men, in short, who ranked under the banner of no party, and who several times, through dislike of presbyterian despotism, had given their votes to the independents, were on this occasion on the side of their adversaries: 400,000*l.* were voted as the greatest concession [d] that the Scots

[b] Old Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 66-71.

[c] Old Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 71-75.

[d] In four votes of 100,000*l.* each; the 13th, 21st, and 27th of

could hope for, payable in two sums; one on their departure from England, the other at the end of two years. They accepted the bargain; and a loan, to be raised on the mortgage of church property, was directly opened in the city, to supply the money which these conditions required[e].

But when the question turned on the disposal of the king's person, the position of the presbyterians was far more perplexing: had they wished that he should remain in the hands of the Scots, they could not even have mentioned such an idea, for national pride absolutely forbade it; it was said on all sides that the English people alone had the right to dispose of their sovereign; to what jurisdiction could the Scots lay claim on English ground? they were nothing there but auxiliaries, paid auxiliaries, who, in fact, as it was visible enough, thought of nothing but their pay: all they had to do was to take their money and return to their own country; their presence was neither wanted nor feared. The Scots on their side, however great their desire of avoiding a rupture, could not bear so much contempt without showing some resistance. Charles, they said, was king of Scotland as well as of England; they, as much as the English, had a right to watch over his person and fate; the covenant

August, and the 1st of September; Old Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 64, 65, 76.

[e] October 13th, 1646; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 376; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 91.

enjoined this to them as a duty. The quarrel became very animated; conferences, pamphlets, declarations, reciprocal accusations increased, and became every day more vehement; the people, without any distinction of parties, exclaimed more loudly against the pretensions of the Scots, for they were fallen in popular opinion; prejudices, national antipathies, had reappeared, and their covetousness, their narrow-minded prudence, their theological pedantry hourly became more disagreeable to the more enlarged minds, the bolder and more extended fanaticism of their allies. Hollis, Stapleton, Glynn, the political leaders of the presbyterian party, being tired of a struggle in which they found themselves restrained and humbled, sought impatiently the means of putting an end to it. They thought that if the Scots surrendered the king to parliament it would then be easy to disband the army, the only strength of the independents, and the real enemies of the king and parliament. They therefore counselled the Scots to yield, as being to their own interest so to do; and, at the same time, the lords, probably determined by the same influence, at length agreed[e] to this vote of the commons, which had been six months in suspense: "That to the parliament alone belonged the right of disposing of the king's person[f]."

[e] September 24th, 1648.

[f] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 329-372; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 92-94; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 284; Baillie, Letters, vol. ii. p. 257; Malcolm Laing, Hist. of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 369-560.

The Scottish presbyterians, at least most of them, were very willing to believe in the wisdom of this counsel and to follow it, being perplexed by their own resistance, and not knowing how to persist in it nor how to give it up. But the king's friends had lately acquired rather more power and boldness. At their head was the duke of Hamilton; he had been confined three years in the castle of Mount St. Michael, in Wales, in consequence of suspicions which his wavering conduct had given rise to in the court of Oxford and to the king himself; he was released when the place fell into the hands of the parliamentarians, and went for a few days to London. After having made very courteous visits to the members of both houses, he set out to Newcastle, where Charles had just arrived with the Scottish army, regained the king's favour, and when he arrived in Edinburgh made the most sincere efforts for his safety[g]. Nearly all the higher nobility of the kingdom immediately rallied round him, as did also among the citizens, all the moderat[illegible]erians, the wise, who were tired of the [illegible]aticism of the multitude and the insolent [illegible]on of its ministers, and all the honest and timid, who were willing to make any sacrifice to obtain a little rest. By their endeavours a new and solemn deputation went to Newcastle, and conjured the king on their knees to accept the proposals of

[g] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. vii. p. 79-84; vol. viii. p. 189-201; vol. ix. p. 42; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 327.

parliament. The passionate entreaties of these deputies, all of them his fellow-countrymen, and many of whom had been his early companions in youth, shook Charles's resolution: "Upon my word," he said to them, "the dangers you have described agitate me less than the grief I feel at not giving an immediate and full compliance to the wishes of my native country expressed by you. I would not have you be deceived on my intentions; I do not refuse; no, I protest that I do not refuse; but, remember, that all I ask is to be heard, heard by the people of London; If a king were to refuse such a request to the meanest of his subjects, he would justly be regarded as a tyrant." The next day, probably after fresh solicitations, he offered to limit the establishment of the episcopal church to five dioceses[h], and allow presbyterianism to prevail in the rest of the kingdom, claiming only for himself and his, liberty of conscience and worship, until, in conjunction with the parliament, an end should be put to all their disputes. But no partial concession would satisfy the presbyterians; and the more the king [illegible] the more they doubted his sincerity. [illegible] proposal was scarcely noticed. Hamilton was discouraged, and talked of retiring to the continent; a report at the same time was spread, that the Scottish army was about to leave England. The king immediately

[h] The dioceses of Oxford, Winchester, Bristol, Bath and Wells, and Exeter.

wrote to the duke of Hamilton[i], "I have so much to write and so little leisure, that this letter will be like the present times, without order or reason. . . . . The people of London hope they shall lay hold of me by telling our countrymen that they nowise intend making a prisoner of me; no, indeed, not in the least; they only want to give me a guard of honour, who will follow me everywhere for the safety of my person. I must then tell you, and far from its being a secret I wish that every one should know it, that I will not be left in England when this army departs from it, unless by a very clear agreement, stipulated according to the ancient legal forms, it be settled that I shall live there as a free man, and without any servant to whom I may object, being forced upon me under any pretext whatsoever. Do not go, I entreat you;" and he finished his letter with these words: "Your surest, truest, most faithful, and most constant friend[k]." Hamilton remained: the Scottish parliament met[l]; their first sittings seemed to announce a firm and active good will in favour of the king. They declared[m] that they would support monarchical government in the person and descendants of his majesty, as well as the just rights of the crown of England; and that directions should be sent to the Scottish commis-

[i] September 26th.
[k] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 327-329.
[l] In November, 1646.
[m] December 16th.

sioners in London, for them to obtain permission for the king to go thither in safety, honour, and liberty. But the very next day, the permanent commission of the general assembly of the presbyterian church, addressed a public remonstrance to the Scottish parliament, accusing them of listening to perfidious counsels, and complaining "that they put the union of the two kingdoms, the only hope of true Christians, in peril, in order to assist an obstinate prince in his opposition to the covenant of Christ[n]. Hamilton and his friends had no power against this intervention. The submissive parliament retracted the vote they had made the day before; and the moderate obtained nothing more than the liberty of entreating the king once more to accept the proposals. Charles only answered by another message, requesting to treat personally with parliament[o].

While for the fifth time he was expressing this unavailing wish, parliament were signing the conditions upon which the Scottish army should retire from England, and the manner in which it should be paid[p]. The loan proposed in the city had been immediately accepted; on the 16th of December, the £400,000*l.* which the Scots were to receive on their departure, enclosed in two

[n] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 399; Malcolm Laing, History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 304-308.

[o] December 20th, 1640. Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 393.

[p] December 23rd, Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 532-536.

hundred covers, sealed with the seal of the two nations, and loaded in thirty-six wagons[q], left London, escorted by a body of infantry; and Skippon, who commanded it, declared that any officer or soldier who by word or deed or otherwise should give any officer or soldier of the Scottish army reason to complain, should immediately receive a severe punishment[r]. The convoy entered York on the 1st of January, 1647, amid the firing of the cannon of the town to celebrate their arrival[s]; and three weeks after, the Scots received their first payment at Northallerton. The king's name was not mentioned in the acts of this negotiation; but a week after the treaty had been signed[t], the two houses voted that he should be conveyed to Holmby castle, in Northamptonshire; and so certain is it that the surrender of his person formed part of the bargain, that the commons debated the question whether commissioners should be sent to Newcastle to receive him solemnly from the Scots, or whether they should merely require him to be given up without any ceremony to Skippon, with the keys of the place and the receipt for the money. The independents strongly urged this last method, delighted at the thoughts of insulting at the same time the king and their rivals.

[q] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 389; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 538.

[r] Whitelocke, p. 240.

[s] Old Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 217; Drake, History of York, p. 171, folio edit. London, 1736.

[t] December 31st, 1646; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 538.

But the presbyterians succeeded in preventing it[u]; and on the 12th of January, nine commissioners, three lords and six members of the commons[x], left London with a numerous retinue, to go and respectfully take possession of their sovereign[y].

Charles was playing at chess when he received the first intimation of the vote of parliament and of his approaching removal to Holmby castle; he quietly finished his game, and merely answered, that when the commissioners came he would acquaint them with his will[z]. But the anxiety of his friends and servants was very great, and they were looking out on all sides for some help or refuge, sometimes planning another flight, at others trying in some corner of the kingdom to raise an insurrection in his favour[a]. Even the people began to show themselves touched by his fate. A Scottish minister who preached before him at Newcastle, ordered the li. Psalm to be sung, beginning with these words:

> Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself
> Thy wicked deeds to praise?

[u] January 6th, 1647; Old Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 264.

[x] The earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, lord Montague, Sir John Coke, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Holland, Sir James Harrington, Mr. Crew, and major-general Brown.

[y] Old Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 265; Herbert, Memoirs, p. 6 in the Collection.

[z] January 15th, 1647; Old Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 278; Burnet's Memoirs of the Hamiltons, p. 307.

[a] Old Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 279; Whitelocke, p. 237.

The king arose, and instead of this, began the verse of the lvi. Psalm:

> Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray:
> For men would me devour:

and with a general emotion the whole assembly joined with him[b]: but the pity of a people is tardy, and remains long ineffective.

The commissioners arrived at Newcastle[c]; the Scottish parliament had officially acquiesced to give up the king[d]. "I am sold and bought," said he, when he heard of it[e]. Yet he received the commissioners well, talked cheerfully with them, congratulated lord Pembroke upon his having been able at his age, and in so severe a season to come so far without fatigue, inquired about the roads, in short, appeared anxious that every one should think him happy at the idea of returning to the parliament[f]. On the eve of their departure, the Scottish commissioners, Lord Lauderdale in particular, the most clear-sighted among them all, made a last attempt with the king in favour of the covenant: "If he would but adopt it, he said, instead of giving himself up to the English, we would take him off to Berwick; we could obtain reasonable conditions for him." They even offered Montreuil, who still served as a mediator between them, a large

[b] Whitelocke, p. 234.
[c] January 23rd, 1647.
[d] January 16th, 1647; Parl. Hist. vol. iii. col. 541.
[e] Whitelocke, p. 240.
[f] Memoirs of Herbert, p. 7 in the Collection.

sum of money if he could only obtain a simple promise from the king[g]. Charles persisted in his refusal, but without complaining of the conduct of the Scots towards him, treating the commissioners of both nations with civility, evidently studious to avoid showing any suspicion or displeasure[h]. The Scots at last finding they had no influence retired; Newcastle was given up to the English troops[i]; and the king left it on the 9th of February, escorted by a regiment of horse. He travelled slowly; an anxious crowd flocked from all sides on his road; those who were afflicted with the evil were brought to him and placed round his carriage, or at the door of the house which he occupied, that he might touch them as he passed. The commissioners were alarmed and forbade this concourse[k], but to little purpose, for no one was yet accustomed to obey or to fear, and the soldiers themselves dared not oppose the people too roughly[l]. When they approached Nottingham, Fairfax, whose head-quarters were there, came out to meet the king. He alighted as soon as he saw him, kissed his hand, and mounting his horse again, went through the town by his side in respectful conversation with

[g] Thurlow, State Papers, vol. i. p. 87; Letter of M. de Montreuil to M. de Brionne, February 2nd, 1647.

[h] Thurlow, State Papers, vol, i. p. 87.

[i] January 30th, 1647.

[k] By a declaration published at Leeds, February 9th, 1647; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 549.

[l] Herbert's Memoirs, p. 10.

him. "The general is a man of honour," said the king, when he parted with him, "he has kept his promise to me[m];" and the day after[n] when he entered Holmby, where a great many gentlemen and inhabitants of the neighbourhood had met to celebrate his arrival, he highly congratulated himself on the reception he had received from his subjects[o].

At Westminster all this gave some disquietude even to the presbyterians, but it was soon dispelled by the joy they felt at finding themselves in possession of the king, and at liberty boldly to attack their enemies. Charles arrived at Holmby on the 16th of February; and on the 19th the commons had already voted that the army, with the exception of that part of it required for the Irish war, the service of the garrisons and the police of the kingdom, should be disbanded[p]. Fairfax was within a little of being deprived of the command of the troops who were to be retained[q]; and though he was left in possession of it, it was decreed, that no member of the house could serve with him,

[m] Whitelocke, p. 242. It is not known to what promise Charles alluded, perhaps to that of receiving him and talking with him as Fairfax did.

[n] February 16th, 1647.

[o] Herbert's Memoirs, p. 10.

[p] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 558. This motion was adopted by one hundred and fifty-eight voices against one hundred and forty-eight.

[q] The motion was rejected by a majority of only twelve voices; Old Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 331; Whitelocke, p. 243.

that he should have no officer under his command above the rank of colonel, and that they should be members of the presbyterian church, and adopt the covenant[r]. On their side, the lords, to relieve, as they said, the counties round London devoted to the public cause, requested that the army, until the time they should be paid off, should be removed to a greater distance from the capital[s]. A loan of 200,000*l.* was raised in the city to pay the disbanded troops a portion of their arrears[t]. Finally, a committee, composed of nearly all the presbyterian leaders, Hollis, Stapleton, Glynn, Maynard, and Waller, were ordered to see to the execution of these measures, and in particular to hasten the departure of those troops, whose assistance the unfortunate Irish protestants had so long been expecting in vain[u].

This attack was not unforeseen: for the last two months the independents had felt their influence decline in the house: most of the recent elections, under a dread of presbyterian despotism had been in their favour, but they now began to turn against them[x]. "What misery," said Cromwell one day to Ludlow, "to

[r] This motion was adopted by one hundred and thirty-six voices against one hundred and eight; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 558.

[s] March 24th, 1647; Old Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 335.

[t] Old Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 348; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 449.

[u] Hollis, Memoirs, p. 104; Rushworth, p. 450.

[x] Hollis, Memoirs, p. 94-101.

serve in parliament! let a man be ever so true, if a lawyer calumniate him he can never recover it; but in serving under a general there is neither blame nor envy to dread; if thy father were alive he would soon let these people know the truth [y]." Ludlow was a sincere republican, but being as yet a stranger to the intrigues of his party, he neither understood nor answered what Cromwell said; but others were more easily seduced or deceived. Cromwell had already secured the service of several able accomplices in the army, who became his willing and blind instruments. Among the first was Ireton, who shortly after became his son-in-law; he had been bred to the law, but was now commissary-general of the cavalry; his mind was firm, obstinate, and subtle, and he was capable of carrying on silently, and with deep cunning, the boldest designs, while his manners seemed frank and blunt. Lambert, one of the most brilliant officers of the army, ambitious, vain, and who, like Ireton, having been brought up to the law, had acquired by his studies the art of insinuation and a great readiness of speech, of which he liked to make use of among the soldiers. Harrison, Hammond, Pride, Rich, Rainsborough, all of them colonels of tried valour, popular, and much attached to Cromwell, Harrison, because in pious meetings they had sought the Lord together; Hammond, because

[y] Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 209 in the Collection.

he was indebted to him for his marriage with Hampden's daughter[z]; the others, because they submitted to the ascendency of his genius, or linked their fortune with his, or obeyed him as soldiers. By means of their exertions, Cromwell, although the war was over, and he had taken his seat in parliament, maintained his influence in the army, and though at a distance exercised his indefatigable activity among its ranks. As soon as the disbanding of the troops was talked of, it was among his adherents in particular that murmurs broke forth; it was to them that news, insinuations, and counsels were sent from London, which they immediately circulated in all quarters, privately exhorting the soldiers to persist firmly in their demand for the payment of the whole of their arrears, to oppose the Irish service, and to be particularly careful that no seeds of discord should be sown among them. Cromwell, in the meanwhile, to disarm suspicion, remained quietly in London, deploring in the house the discontent which prevailed in the army, and pouring forth protestations of his devotion[a].

First came a petition signed by fourteen officers[b] only, written in a mild and humble tone. They promised to go to Ireland as soon as commanded so to do, and only suggested modest counsels in the mean time, on the payment of the

[z] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. ix. p. 5.

[a] Hollis, Memoirs, p. 115-117; Old Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 341; Memoirs of Sir John Berkley in the Collection.

[b] March 25th, 1647; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 560.

arrears and the guarantees that the troops had a right to expect. Thanks were voted to them by the house; but not without some manifestation of displeasure, and it was said, that it behoved no one to give advice to parliament[c]. No sooner had this answer reached the army than another petition, far more firm and definite than the first, was prepared. Its prayer was, that the arrears should be fairly regulated; that no one should be obliged to go over to Ireland contrary to their inclination; that wounded soldiers, widows, and the children of those who had been killed, should receive pensions; and that some money should immediately be advanced to prevent the troops from becoming a burden to the inhabitants of those places in which they were quartered. It was no longer by a few, but in the name of officers and soldiers, that the petition was drawn up; and it was addressed not to parliament, but to Fairfax, the natural representative of the army, and the guardian of its rights. The prayer of the petition was read to each regiment, and such officers as refused to sign it were threatened[d].

Upon the first report of these proceedings, parliament commanded Fairfax to put a stop to them; and declared that all those who should persist in them, would be considered as enemies of the state, and disturbers of the public

[c] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 562.

[d] Ibid., col. 562-567; Whitelocke, p. 245.

peace; it further demanded that certain of the officers should attend the house and explain their conduct[e].

Fairfax promised obedience: Hammond, Pride, Lilburne, and Grimes went to Westminster[f], and firmly denied the charges brought against them: "It is not true," said Pride, "that the prayer of the petition has been read to every regiment;" it was, in fact, to every company that it had been read; no further objections however were raised, for it was thought sufficient that the prayer should be disowned and abandoned[g].

The preparations for disbanding the army were continued: the loan proposed in the city was but slowly answered to, and could not be sufficient; a general tax of 60,000*l.* a-month was established to supply the deficiency[h]. Above all, the formation of those corps destined for Ireland was hastened, great advantages were promised to those who would enlist in them; and Skippon and Massey were appointed to command them[i]. Five commissioners, all of the presbyterian party, were sent to head-quarters to make these resolutions known.

[e] This declaration was made on the 30th of March, 1647; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 567.

[f] April 1st, 1647.

[g] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 444; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 110.

[h] The ordinance was proposed in the beginning of April, but was not definitively adopted till the 23rd of June following. Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 582. The tax was voted for one year.

[i] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 452; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 112.

On the day of their arrival[k], two hundred officers, who were assembled in the house of Fairfax, entered into conferences with them: "Who will command us in Ireland?" asked Lambert. "Major-general Skippon and major-general Massey are appointed." "The army," replied Hammond, "will readily follow major-general Skippon; we know the merit of this great soldier; but we must also have those generals whom we have tried in so many battles." "Yes, yes," cried all at the same time, "Fairfax and Cromwell, and we will go." The commissioners were confused, and knew not what to say; they left the hall, inviting the officers to come of their own accord and meet them at their lodgings. Scarcely more than twelve or fifteen accepted the invitation[l].

A few days after[m], a hundred and forty officers addressed a solemn justification of their conduct to parliament: "In becoming soldiers," they said, "we have not ceased to be citizens; the defenders of the liberties of our country, we cannot ourselves fall into slavery; our petitions are opposed and forbidden, while on the contrary, petitions against us are excited and received from several counties. We have been called the enemies of the state; we hope that this accusation will be retracted, and that before we are dis-

[k] April 15th, 1647.

[l] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 457; Whitelocke, p. 244.

[m] April 27th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 568; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 469-472.

banded the securities we require for our personal safety and the payment of our arrears will be given us."

The house had scarcely finished reading this letter[n], when Skippon rose and delivered another, which had been brought to him the day before by three private soldiers. In it eight regiments of horse expressly refused to serve in Ireland: "It was," they said, "a perfidious snare, a mere pretext to separate the soldiers from the officers they love, and conceal the ambition of a few men who had long been servants, but who having lately tasted of sovereign power, were now, in order to remain masters, degenerated into tyrants." On hearing this personal attack, the presbyterians, no less astonished than irritated, requested that the house should lay aside all other business to summon and question the three soldiers. They came; their demeanour was firm and calm, their deportment unembarrassed[o]. "Where was this letter agreed upon?" inquired the speaker. "At a meeting of the regiments." "Who wrote it?" "A council of delegates appointed by each regiment." "Did your officers approve of it?" "Very few of them know anything about it." "Do you know that only cavaliers can have been the abettors of such a proceeding? yourselves, were

[n] April 30th.

[o] Their names were: Edward Sexley, William Allen, and Thomas Shepperd.

you never cavaliers?" "We entered the service of parliament before the battle of Edge-hill, and we have never left it since." One of the three stepped forward: "I received five wounds in one day," said he; "I fell; major-general Skippon saw me lying on the ground; he passed near me, and gave me five shillings to procure assistance; the major-general can contradict me if my word is doubted." "It is true," said Skippon, looking with interest at the soldier. "But what means this sentence in which you speak about sovereignty?" "We are only the delegates of our regiments; if the house will put its questions in writing, we will take them to our regiments and bring back the answers[p]."

A violent tumult arose in the house; the presbyterians broke out in threats. Cromwell, leaning himself towards Ludlow, who was sitting next to him, said: "These people will have no rest till the army have turned them out of this place by the ears[q]."

Anger soon gave way to anxiety; melancholy discoveries had just been made; it was no longer discontented soldiers whose murmurs they had to repress, but the whole army were banded together, and had erected themselves into an independent, perhaps rival power, and had already their own form of government. Two councils, one composed of the officers, the other of dele-

[p] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 474; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 120; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 213; Whitelocke, p. 249.

[q] Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 213.

gates, or agitators, appointed by the soldiers, ruled all their proceedings, and were preparing to negotiate in their name. Every precaution had been taken to support this organisation; every squadron, every company, named two agitators; and whenever it was necessary that they should assemble, every soldier gave fourpence to defray the expenses; and the two councils were only to act in concert[r]. At the same time a report was spread, and not without foundation, that proposals had been sent from the army to the king; it was said that they offered to re-establish him in the possession of his just rights[s], provided he would place himself at their head and under their care. In the house, the cautious, dreading the strength still more than the triumph of this new power, became timid at the aspect it had taken; some left London; others, like Whitelocke, formed closer connections with the generals, particularly with Cromwell, who warmly received their advances[t]. It was resolved to try what compliance would effect, and to treat with the army through its own leaders. Eight weeks' pay was promised, instead of six, which had at first been voted to the troops who were to be disbanded[u]; an ordinance was drawn

[r] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 485; Fairfax, Memoirs, p. 402-404; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 118; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 213.

[s] Proposals of this nature had in fact been made to the king by some officers early in April; Charles however refused them. Clarendon, State Papers, vol. ii. p. 365.

[t] Whitelocke, p. 253.

[u] May 14th, 1647; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 484.

up for a general amnesty of all disorders and illegal acts transacted during the war[x]; and funds were assigned to relieve the children and widows of soldiers[y]. Finally, Cromwell, Ireton, Skippon, Fleetwood, and all those generals who were members of the commons, and who it was thought would please the army, were sent charged to re-establish harmony between it and the parliament[z].

A fortnight passed without their presence at head-quarters appearing to produce any effect. They wrote often, but their letters contained nothing; sometimes they said the council of officers had refused to answer without the concurrence of the agitators; sometimes the agitators themselves had requested time to consult the soldiers[a]. Every day, and under the eyes of the commissioners of parliament, this adverse government acquired more consistency and power. Yet Cromwell ceased not to write to the house, that he wearied himself in vain efforts to appease the army, that his influence would be greatly injured by it, for that he himself should soon be suspected and become odious to the soldiers[b]. At length some of the commissioners

[x] Ibid. The ordinance was definitively adopted on the 21st of May; ibid., p. 489.

[y] Hollis, Memoirs, p. 124.

[z] They went to the head-quarters at Saffron Waldon, in the county of Essex, on the 7th of May, 1647.

[a] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 480, 485, 487; Huntingdon, Memoirs, p. 310-312 in the Collection.

[b] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 298-301.

retired to London, bearing from the army the same proposals and the same refusals[c].

This the presbyterian leaders had expected; and profiting by the disposition of the house, which had persisted in hoping for more, it obtained in the course of an hour a few rather firmer resolutions. On a motion of Hollis it voted that the troops which would not enlist for the Irish service should be immediately disbanded; the day, the place, and the means for the execution of this measure were regulated. The divisions were to be dispersed unexpectedly and separately, each in their several quarters, almost at the same time, or at very short intervals, so that they might neither concert together nor assemble. The money necessary to the first acts of this operation was forwarded to different places, and commissioners, all of them presbyterians, were the bearers of it[d].

They found the army in the greatest confusion: having heard of the blow by which they were threatened, most of the regiments were in a state of insurrection; some, having expelled such officers as they suspected, had of their own accord marched with colours flying to join their comrades; others took up arms, and shut themselves up in the churches, declaring that they would not disband; some had seized the money

[c] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 491.

[d] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 493, 494, 496; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 582; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 125. These resolutions were adopted by the house of lords on the 22nd of May, 1647.

with which the troops were to be paid; all clamorously demanded a general meeting, in which the whole army might be heard; and a letter was immediately addressed to Fairfax[e] in the name of the soldiers, saying, that if their officers refused to lead them they knew very well how to arrange their meetings and defend their own rights. Fairfax was sorry and perplexed; he exhorted the officers, hearkened to the soldiers, wrote to parliament, dealing sincerely with all parties; but he had no influence, and was alike incapable of resigning his popularity or exercising power. At last he called a council of war[f], and at this council, the officers, with only six dissenting voices, voted that the resolutions of parliament were not sufficient; that the army could not disband without better securities; that they should draw their quarters nearer together; that a general meeting should be assembled to dispel the fears of the soldiers; and that a deputation from the council should humbly lay these resolutions before the parliament[g].

No illusion could possibly exist after this; its authority thus slighted, the house of parliament could no longer be sufficient in itself; it required some other strength than its name, some other support than the law, to defend it against such enemies as these. This could only

[e] May 29th.

[f] May 29th.

[g] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 496-500; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 584-588; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 126-128.

be given it by the king, on one hand, or by the city, whose inhabitants were still presbyterians, and very nearly royalists, on the other. Some measures had already been taken with this view; with the consent of the common council, the command of the militia had been taken from the independents and intrusted to a committee of presbyterians[h]; a more numerous guard had been placed round the doors of the house[i]; 12,000*l.* had been collected to defray the expenses of their maintenance; the cashiered officers, the faithful remnant of Essex's army, sojourned unmolested, and in crowds, in the city. Essex himself, to the great regret of his party, was no more; he had died almost suddenly, at the latter end of the preceding year[k], on his return from a hunting party, and just at the time when he was said to be preparing to make a signal effort in favour of peace. His death had given such a fatal blow to the hopes of the presbyterians, that hints of his having been poisoned were insinuated against his enemies[l]. But there still remained Waller, Poyntz, and Massey; all were full of zeal, and ready to declare themselves. As for the king, the two houses had reason to fear that he did not entertain very

[h] By an ordinance of the 4th of May, 1647; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 472, 478.

[i] Ibid., p. 496.

[k] September 14th, 1646.

[l] Old Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 97; Whitelocke, p. 233; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. viii. p. 293.

favourable dispositions towards them: they had twice, with the narrow bigotry of religious hatred, refused him the attendance of his two chaplains[m]; and two presbyterian ministers, Marshall and Caryll, continued to do duty, according to their mode of worship, at Holmby, though Charles steadfastly refused to attend[n]; his most faithful servants had been taken from him[o]; all his attempts to correspond with his wife, his children, or his friends, were strictly prevented[p]; it was with great difficulty that lord Dumferline, one of the commissioners of the Scottish parliament, had obtained permission to converse with him[q]: finally, he had lately[r] addressed a detailed answer to parliament on the proposals he had received from Newcastle, and more than a fortnight had elapsed without its being taken into consideration. After so much rigour and annoyance, a reconciliation seemed difficult. If the king had reason to complain of the presbyterians, he still knew that they did not wish for his ruin. Even at Holmby, though he was so narrowly watched, the usual honours of royalty were shown to him; his household was served with splendour, and the ceremonies of court strictly observed; on the part of the com-

[m] February 19th and March 8th, 1647.

[n] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 557-559; Herbert, Memoirs, p. 11 in the Collection.

[o] Ibid., p. 13-16.

[p] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 453, 482; Herbert, Memoirs, p. 12.

[q] May 13th, 1647; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 483.

[r] May 12th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 577-581.

missioners who resided with him, and who were all presbyterians, nothing was wanting in the etiquette and respect of their behaviour, and they lived upon very good terms together; sometimes the king invited them to accompany him in his walks, sometimes he played at chess or at bowls with them, and was always careful to treat them well, and seemed fond of their conversation[s]. They thought, too, that the king certainly could not be ignorant that the enemies of parliament were also his, nor refuse the only means of safety that was now offered him. The lords therefore voted[t] that his majesty should be invited to reside nearer London, in Oatlands castle; the commons, without joining in this vote, manifested the same wish; the correspondence with the commissioners who kept guard over the king, particularly with colonel Graves, the commander of the garrison, became frequent and mysterious: already, at Westminster and in the city, the hope was expressed that the king would soon join his parliament, when, on the 4th of June, the news suddenly arrived that the king had been taken from Holmby the day before, by a detachment of seven hundred men, and that he was in the hands of the army.

In fact, on the 2nd of June, as the king was playing at bowls after dinner, on Althorpe down, two miles from Holmby, the commissioners who

[s] Herbert, Memoirs, p. 10-13.

[t] May 20th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 581.

accompanied him remarked with astonishment, among those standing by, a stranger in the uniform of Fairfax's regiment of guards. Colonel Greaves asked him who he was, whence he came, and what was talked of in the army. The man answered rather abruptly and haughtily, as if conscious of his own importance, yet without impertinence. A report was soon in circulation round the king that a numerous body of horse were on the road for Holmby: "Have you heard anything of them?" said Greaves to the stranger. "I have more than heard," he replied, "I saw them yesterday not far from this spot." This caused great alarm; they all immediately returned to Holmby; preparations were made to resist any attack; and the garrison promised to remain faithful to the parliament. Towards midnight, a body of horse arrived under the walls of the castle, and demanded entrance. "Who is your commander?" inquired the commissioners. "We all command," was the reply. One of the party came forward, the same who had been seen a few hours before on Althorpe down: "My name is Joyce," said he; "I am a cornet in the guards of the general; I must speak with the king." "By whose desire?" "By my own." The commissioners laughed. "There is nothing laughable in the matter," said Joyce; "I am not come to ask for your advice, I must see the king immediately." Greaves and major-general Brown, one of the commissioners, ordered the garrison to hold themselves in readi-

ness to fire; but the soldiers had talked with the new comers, the portcullis was lowered, the doors opened, and Joyce's men were already in the castle-yard, alighting from their horses, shaking hands with their comrades, saying that they came by orders of the army to put the king in safety, as there was a plot to take him away, conduct him to London, raise other troops, and begin another civil war. On hearing this, the soldiers exclaimed that they would not forsake the army, and Greaves disappeared, and absconded as soon as he could. After a few hours' consultation, the commissioners acknowledged that all hope of resistance must be given up. It was twelve o'clock; Joyce took possession of the castle, posted sentinels about it, and then retired till night to give the troops a little rest.

He returned at ten in the evening, and requested to see the king. He was told that his majesty was in bed. "I care not," said he, "I have waited long enough; I must see him;" and with a pistol in each hand he caused himself to be conducted to the apartment occupied by Charles. "I am sorry," said he, to the gentlemen in attendance, "to disturb the rest of his majesty; but I cannot help it; I want to speak with him, and that immediately." He was asked whether he was authorised by the commissioners. "No; I have put guards at their doors, and my orders come from those who do not fear them." They endeavoured to persuade him to lay aside his arms, but he refused. Some hesitation was

shown before the door was opened; he put himself in a passion. The king, awakened by the noise, rang, and gave orders that he should be admitted. Joyce entered, his hat off, a pistol in his hand, and with a resolute air, but otherwise with strict propriety. The king held a long conference with him in presence of the commissioners, whom he had sent for, and he parted with him, saying, "To-morrow morning, Mr. Joyce, I will willingly go with you if your soldiers confirm all that you have promised me."

The next morning Joyce's men were on horseback, arranged in order in the yard of the castle. The king appeared on the steps leading to the hall, followed by the commissioners and his servants. Joyce advanced to the foot of the stairs. "Mr. Joyce," said the king, "I must ask you by what authority you pretend to seize me, and take me from this place." "Sir, I am sent by command of the army, to prevent the designs of their enemies, whose desire is once more to overwhelm the kingdom in blood." "This is no legal authority; I acknowledge no other in England than my own, and after mine, that of the parliament: have you a written warrant from Sir Thomas Fairfax?" "I have orders from the army, and the general is comprised in the army." "That is no answer; the general is at the head of the army; have you a written warrant?" "I beg that your majesty will question me no further; I have already said enough." "Come, Mr. Joyce, be frank with me, tell me where is

your warrant?" "There it is, Sir." "Where?" "There." "But where?" "There, behind me;" and he pointed to his soldiers. "Never," said the king smiling, "did I before see such a warrant; I own it is written in fair characters, legible without spelling; these gentlemen are all wonderfully well equipped, and very good looking. But you must know that to take me away from hence you must employ force, if you do not promise that I shall be treated with respect, and that nothing will be required of me against my conscience or my honour." "Nothing! nothing!" the soldiers all exclaimed. "It is not our rule," said Joyce, "to constrain any one's conscience, and especially that of our king." "Now, gentlemen, whither are you going to take me?" "To Oxford, Sir, if you please." "No, the air is not wholesome." "Then to Cambridge." "No, I would rather go to Newmarket; it is an air that I always liked." "As you please, Sir." As the king was retiring, the commissioners advanced a few steps towards the troop: "Gentlemen," said lord Montague, "we are here by virtue of the authority given us by the two houses of parliament, and we wish to know whether you all approve of what Mr. Joyce has said?" "All, all!" "Let those," said major-general Brown, "who wish that the king should remain with the commissioners of parliament, say so aloud." "No one, no one!" was the reply. Their want of influence, thus undeniably attested, the commissioners submitted; three of

them got into the carriage with the king, the others mounted their horses, and Joyce gave the order to depart[w].

A messenger at the same time was sent to London bearing a letter in which Joyce announced to Cromwell that all had succeeded. The messenger was ordered, in case he did not meet with Cromwell in London, to deliver the letter to Sir Arthur Haslerig, and, should he be absent, to colonel Fleetwood. It was Fleetwood who received it[x]; Cromwell was at head-quarters, with Fairfax, who was thrown into great trouble when he was told what had taken place. "I do not like it," he said to Ireton; "who could give such orders?" "I ordered that the king should be made sure of at Holmby," said Ireton, "but not that he should be brought away." "It was quite necessary that it should be done," said Cromwell, who at that moment arrived from London, "or the king would have been taken, and had back to parliament[y]." Fairfax, however, sent colonel Whalley with two regiments of horse to meet the king, and with orders to take him back to Holmby. Charles refused to go back, though he still protested against the violence which had been used to-

[w] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 502, 513-517; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 588-601; Herbert, Memoirs, p. 17-24; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 217; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 301.

[x] Hollis, Memoirs, p. 132; Whitelocke, p. 253; Huntingdon, Memoirs, p. 312.

[y] Huntingdon, Memoirs, p. 312, 313.

wards him: still, in reality, he was by no means displeased at changing his prison, nor that discord prevailed among his enemies. Two days after, Fairfax himself and all his staff, Cromwell, Ireton, Skippon, Hammond, Lambert, and Rich, met the king[z] at Childersley, near Cambridge. Most of them, Fairfax being the first, respectfully kissed his hand; Cromwell and Ireton alone kept aloof[a]. Fairfax protested to the king that he had not taken any part in his seizure. "I will not believe it," said Charles, "unless you have Joyce immediately hanged." Joyce was summoned: "I told the king," said he, "that I had no warrant from the general; I acted upon the orders of the army; and let the whole army be summoned, and if three parts of them do not approve of what I have done, I consent to be hanged in presence of them all." Fairfax talked of having him tried by a court-martial, but to no purpose. "Sir," said the king to him when he left him, "I am as powerful in the army as you are." He requested to be taken back to Newmarket, and there colonel Whalley took up his quarters with him, being charged to watch over him; Fairfax returned to head-quarters, and Cromwell to Westminster, where all wondered at his absence[b].

[z] June 7th, 1647.

[a] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. viii. p. 310.

[b] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 545, 549; Herbert, Memoirs, p. 24, 25; Warwick, Memoirs, p. 252; Fairfax, Memoirs, p. 408-410.

He found both houses alternately agitated by sudden transitions from anger to fear, and from decision to weakness. The first news of the seizure of the king had caused general dismay; Skippon, whom the presbyterians persisted in regarding as one of their party, requested in a sorrowful tone that a solemn fast should be ordained in order to obtain from the Lord the restoration of harmony between the army and the parliament; it was voted that a considerable sum should be advanced towards the payment of arrears, and that the declaration by which the first project of petition from the officers had been termed seditious, should be rescinded, and effaced from the journals [c]. Further information, however, by exciting indignation, rekindled some degree of courage in the parliament; the particulars of what had passed at Holmby were given by the commissioners; they knew of the letter which Joyce had sent to Cromwell; they even thought they knew exactly on what day, in a conference between a few officers, this audacious trick [d] had been planned and decided at Cromwell's instigation. When the lieutenant-general reappeared in the house, they assailed him with their suspicions: he repelled them with indignation, calling God, the angels, and men to witness, that before that day Joyce was as unknown to him as light to a child in its mother's

[c] June 5th, 1647; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 592, 597; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 132.

[d] According to Hollis, p. 129, it was on the 30th of May.

womb[e]. Hollis, Glynn, and Grimstone, however, were still firmly convinced in their own minds of the justice of their suspicions, and sought everywhere for proofs; being resolved to take the first opportunity of moving for his being arrested. One morning, a little before the opening of the debates, two officers waited upon Grimstone. They said that it had been lately agitated in an assembly of officers whether it would not be right to purge the army, so as to retain only those in whom confidence could be placed, and that Cromwell had said, "I am sure of the army, but there is another great body which it is far more urgent to purge, the house of commons, and this can alone be performed by the army." "Will you repeat these words to the house?" asked Grimstone of the men: "We are quite ready to do so," was the reply; and they accompanied him to Westminster. The debate was begun: Grimstone, as soon as he arrived, moved that it should be adjourned, as he had a far more urgent, far more important question to propose; and he impeached Cromwell, who was then present, of intending to employ an armed force against the parliament. "My witnesses are here," he said, "I move that they be admitted." The two officers came, and repeated their statement. They no sooner withdrew, than Cromwell arose, and, falling on his knees, wept bitterly, and with a vehemence of

[e] Harris, Life of Cromwell, p. 97, in the note.

words, sobs, and gestures that moved the whole assembly, he poured forth invocations and fervent prayers, calling every curse of the Lord on his head if any man in the kingdom was more faithful than he to the house. Then, rising, he spoke for more than two hours of the parliament, the king, the army, of his enemies, of his friends, and of himself; touching upon and mixing up all things; humble and bold, prolix and impassioned; particularly repeating that he was unjustly accused, compromised without reason; that, with the exception of a few men whose eyes were turned towards the land of Egypt, officers and soldiers, all were alike devoted to him, and easy to keep under his command. In a word, such was his success that "if he had pleased," as Grimstone himself writes thirty years afterwards, "the house might have sent us, I and my officers, to the Tower together as libellers[f]."

But Cromwell was too wise to be eager for revenge, and too clear-sighted to deceive himself respecting the value of his success. He immediately saw that such scenes could not be repeated; and on the evening of this very day he secretly left London, joined the army assembled at Triploe-Heath[g], near Cambridge; and throwing off all disguise towards the presbyterians and the house, for it had now become

[f] Burnet, Hist. of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 93-95 in the Collection.

[g] June 10th, 1647; Hollis, Memoirs p. 133.

impossible, even with his consummate hypocrisy, to preserve it any longer, he placed himself openly at the head of the independents and the soldiers.

A few days after his arrival the army moved towards London. A solemn engagement to support their cause to the last had been sworn to by all the regiments; under the title of an *humble representation* they had addressed to both houses[h], not only the picture of their own grievances, but the haughty expression of their wishes on public affairs, on the constitution of parliament, the elections, the right of petition, and the general reform of the state[i]. Finally, to these unprecedented demands was joined a project of impeachment against eleven members of the commons, Hollis, Stapleton, Maynard, etc[k]. whom they called the enemies of the army, and the only cause of the fatal mistakes into which the parliament had fallen respecting it.

The presbyterians had foreseen this blow, and had sought beforehand to shield themselves against it. For the last fortnight they had put every thing in action to excite the people of the city in their favour: complaints had been made against the taxes on salt and

[h] June 14th, 1647.

[i] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 564.

[k] Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Glynn, Anthony Nichols, Major-general Massey, and the colonels Walter Long and Harley (ibid., p. 570).

meat, they were abolished[l]; the apprentices had declared themselves against the suppression of religious festivals, particularly the Christmas holidays, which had always been a time of merriment all over England; days of public recreation were appointed to take their place[m]. There was still a general clamour against the avidity of a crowd of members, the accumulation of offices, indemnities, and the profits on sequestrations; the commons voted that no member should henceforth be appointed to any lucrative office, nor receive any gifts, nor become assignee of the estate of delinquents, and even, that they should return to the public treasury the sums they had already received, and their lands be submitted to the common law for the payment of their debts[n]. Finally, a committee which had been appointed to receive the complaints of citizens, but which had long been out of use, was once more re-established[o].

But the day was come in which concessions were no longer the proof of anything but distress, and in which parties only acknowledged their faults to expiate them. The independents were detested in the city, but at the same time were feared; and the devotion shown to the

[l] June 11th and 25th; Whitelocke, p. 255; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 592.

[m] June 8th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 594; Whitelocke, p. 243, 254; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 460, 543.

[n] June 10th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 603; Whitelocke, p. 255.

[o] June 3rd; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 500.

presbyterian leaders was neither attended with respect or confidence, but such as is felt towards vanquished and discredited patrons. For awhile these measures seemed to produce some effect: the common council declared their firm design of supporting parliament[p]; a few squadrons of citizens were formed; the militia was recruited; the disbanded officers came in crowds to inscribe their names at Massey's, Waller's, and Hollis's; preparations for defence were made round London[q]; finally, both houses voted[r] that the army should be called upon to retire, surrender the king to their commissioners, and that the king himself should be requested to reside at Richmond under the protection of parliament alone[s]. But the army continued to advance. Fairfax wrote to the common council[t] to complain of their allowing men to be recruited to oppose his troops. The council answered by a mean denial, apologized for their alarm, and protested that if the army would retire and consent to remain quartered forty miles from London, all dissensions between them should be put an end to[u]. Fairfax answered, that this letter came too late; that his head-quarters

[p] June 10th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 601; Whitelocke, p. 254.

[q] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 552, etc.; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 614.

[r] June 11th.

[s] June 15th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 614.

[t] June 11th and 14th. Ibid., col. 608-628.

[u] June 12th and 15th; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 557; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 630.

were already at St. Albans, and that a month's pay was absolutely necessary[x]. The pay was granted, but a retrograde movement insisted upon[y]. The army requested that the eleven members should first be expelled from parliament[z]. The commons could not resolve to deal such a blow to their own power; the question had already been several times brought forward, but still the majority had answered that a vague accusation, without facts to confirm the imputations, or without proofs to support the facts, could not deprive members of parliament of their rights[a]. The army replied, that the first accusation against lord Strafford was also vague and merely general; and that, as it was done in his case, they would furnish their proofs hereafter[b]; and they still advanced. On the 26th of June their head-quarters were at Uxbridge. Commissioners were sent to that town by the city, but to no purpose. The alarm increased every day; the shops were shut, and the eleven members were bitterly blamed for their obstinacy, which so highly compromised parliament and the city. They easily understood this language; and offered of themselves to retire. Their self-resignation was accepted with eager gratitude[c];

[x] Ibid., p. 560; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 613.

[y] June 15th and 21st; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 631-639.

[z] June 23rd; ibid., col. 640-650.

[a] Hollis, Memoirs, p. 152, etc.; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 653.

[b] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 594.

[c] June 26th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 654; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 162-164; Clarendon, State Papers, vol. ii. Append. p. xxxviii.

and on the self-same day the commons voted that they acknowledged all the proceedings of the army, that they would provide for their necessities, that commissioners should be appointed to regulate in concert with theirs the affairs of the kingdom, that in the mean time the king should be requested not to come to Richmond as it had lately been desired, and that in any case he could not reside nearer London than the head-quarters of the army [d]. On these conditions Fairfax drew back a few miles, and appointed ten commissioners to treat with those appointed by parliament [e].

When the king heard of these resolutions, he was preparing to set out for Richmond; according to the desire of the two houses, or, at least to attempt to do so, for since this wish had first been expressed his every action had been closely watched, he had been dragged along from town to town with the army, and a crowd of guards had continually been placed round his quarters as soon as he arrived. He had manifested his highest displeasure on this subject; "Since my parliament," he said, "wishes me to go to Richmond, if any one offer to prevent me it will be by force, and by seizing hold of my bridle rein; and if any man dare attempt it, it

[d] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 656.

[e] June 30th and July 1st; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 596; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 661. The commissioners appointed by the army were, Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, Rainsborough, Harrison, Sir Hardress Waller, Rich, Hammond, Lambert, and Desborough.

shall not be my fault if it be not the last action of his life[f]." When he learned that the parliament itself opposed his departure, that it was negotiating with the army as with its conqueror, and that the latter had conceded everything to it, he smiled contemptuously at this humiliation of his first adversaries, and hastened to give another direction to his intrigues. Save the measures taken to prevent his escape, he had nothing to complain of in the behaviour of the army; the officers showed themselves as respectful towards him, and far more complaisant than the commissioners of parliament. Two of his chaplains, doctors Sheldon and Hammond, had been allowed to remain near him, and were left at liberty to do duty according to the rites of the episcopal church; even some of the cavaliers who had lately borne arms, were now allowed occasionally to visit him; the duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, the marquis of Hertford, obtained leave to approach him; the military chiefs seemed to take pleasure in displaying their generosity, as well as their power towards the royalist noblemen; and even in less elevated ranks, the military spirit did not stoop to those subtle precautions, those petty rigours, with which the king had often been persecuted at Newcastle and Holmby[g]. Since

[f] Huntingdon, Memoirs, p. 314 in the Collection.

[g] Herbert, Memoirs, p. 14, etc. in the Collection; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 306.

the surrender of Oxford, his youngest children, the duke of York, the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester, had lived either at St. James's palace, or Sion house, near London, under the care of the earl of Northumberland, to whom parliament had intrusted them. Charles expressed a wish to see them, and Fairfax hastened to urge his request officially to both houses. "Who would not regret," he said, "that such a trifling request, prompted by affection, which it is natural his majesty should feel towards his children, should undergo a refusal[h]?" The interview took place[i] at Maidenhead, before a large concourse of people, who scattered flowers and evergreens on all the roads by which the royal family had to pass; and far from conceiving any bitterness or distrust, officers and soldiers, touched as well as the people by the sacred ties of a father, thought it proper that he should take them to Caversham where he then resided, and keep them for two days[k]. Some of them, moreover, were too clear-sighted, particularly Cromwell and Ireton, to flatter themselves that their struggle with the presbyterians was at an end, and their victory secure; they felt therefore uneasy respecting the future, they calculated every chance, and examined every aspect that might help them to form some

[h] His letter was of the 8th of July; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 679.

[i] July 15th.

[k] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 625; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 317.

notion how this crisis would end, they inquired of one another whether the king's restoration to favour by their hands would not be the best security for their party, and the safest means of fortune and power to themselves[l].

Tidings of this state of affairs, of the king's attentions to the army, of the advances that some of its chiefs made to him, soon became public. The conditions offered him were even spoken of, and pamphlets circulated on the subject, some to praise, others to blame these proceedings. It was thought necessary officially to contradict these reports, and even to claim, in a tone of anger, the punishment of their authors[m]. The negotiations with the king were nevertheless continued; a great many officers were assiduous and courteous around him; familiar and almost friendly connections existed between them and the cavaliers, as between those who had fought loyally and only wished for the future to live in peace. The king himself wrote with some confidence upon this subject to the queen. This new source of hope soon became the theme of every conversation among the few emigrants who had followed her to Paris, or who had sought refuge in Normandy, at Rouen, Caen, or Dieppe. Two men, in particular, seemed anxious to propagate it, and to make it appear that they knew more than they were at liberty to mention, and

[l] Huntingdon, Memoirs, p. 317 in the Collection.

[m] July 1st, 1647; Old Parl. Hist., vol. xvi. p. 60-62.

that no one could render such important services to the king in this affair as themselves. One of them, Sir John Berkley, had valiantly defended himself in Exeter, and had not surrendered that place till three weeks before the king had fled to the Scottish camp; the other, Ashburnham, only left the king at Newcastle, feeling obliged to do so to escape the hatred borne him by the parliament; they were both vain intriguers, and boasters; Berkley had most courage, Ashburnham most cunning and influence near the king. Both of them, Berkley by chance, Ashburnham by orders from Charles himself, maintained a correspondence with a few of the principal officers, enough to enable them to boast, and in some measure to profit. The queen received all they advanced without hesitation; and by her orders, in the beginning of July, a few days after each other, they both set out to offer their services to the king and the army as negotiators[n]. Berkley was no sooner landed, than a cavalier of his acquaintance, Sir Allen Apsley[o], came to meet him, sent by Cromwell, Lambert, and some others, to assure him that they had not forgotten their conversations with him after the taking of Exeter, nor his excellent counsels, and that they were all ready to profit by them; that he should therefore hasten his arrival. Berkley, upon receiving this message, proud of

[n] Berkley, Memoirs, p. 161-163 in the Collection; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 310-314.

[o] Mrs. Hutchinson's brother.

finding himself even of more importance than he had imagined, stopped but a moment in London and hastened to Reading, at this time head-quarters. He had not been there three hours, before Cromwell sent to apologise for not being able to visit him directly, and called upon him at ten in the evening of the same day, with Rainsborough and Sir Hardress Waller. All three protested their good intentions for the king's service, Rainsborough in a few words, Cromwell with profusion: "I have just witnessed," he said, "the most touching sight, the interview of the king with his children; no one has been more deceived than I have respecting his majesty; he is, I am now sure of it, the best man in the three kingdoms; for our parts, we are infinitely obliged to him; we were ruined, entirely ruined, had he accepted the proposals of the Scots at Newcastle. May God measure his goodness to me by the sincerity of my heart towards his majesty!" Besides this, according to his statement, the officers were all convinced that if the king was not re-established in the possession of his just rights, no man in England could enjoy his life and property in safety; and a decisive step on their side would soon leave no doubts in his majesty's mind of their feelings towards him. Berkley was delighted; the very next day he was presented to the king, to whom he related what had passed at this interview. Charles received him coldly, like one to whom similar proposals had often been made, and who

either distrusts them, or wishes by his reserve to increase the value of his satisfaction. Berkley retired confounded; thinking, not without some resentment, that the king, who knew him but little, perhaps entertained some prejudice against him, and that Ashburnham, who was to arrive in a few days, would perhaps be more successful. He continued meanwhile his advances in the army; the officers crowded around him, even simple agitators, some of them the friends or creatures of Cromwell, others who mistrusted him, and who advised Berkley to be on his guard against him: "For," said they, "he is a man on whom no one can depend, and who changes his behaviour and language every day and to every one, wholly bent on the desire of being on all occasions the leader of the successful party." Still Berkley believed that Ireton, who was Cromwell's most intimate friend, might be trusted; he had communicated to him the proposals that the general council of officers were preparing, and he even made a few alterations in them by his suggestion. Nothing so moderate as these proposals had hitherto been offered to the king: they required that he should give up for ten years the command of the militia and the nomination to the great offices of state; that seven of his councillors should remain banished from the kingdom; that all civil and coercive power should be withdrawn from the presbyterian bishops and ministers; that no peer created since the beginning of the war should be allowed

to take a place in the house; that no cavalier could be elected as member of the next parliament. "Some difference must exist and appear between the conquered and the conquerors," said Ireton. To these conditions, in themselves so much milder than those of parliament, were not added the obligation of ruining the episcopal church, and most of the royalists by enormous fines; and in short, what might almost be called the legal interdiction of the king and his party for as long as it should please the parliament. It is true, that on other points, the army required new reforms, and in fact very important ones; a more equal distribution of electoral privileges, and public taxation; a change in the civil mode of pleading, and the abolition of a crowd of political, commercial, and judicial privileges; in a word, the introduction into the laws and social system principles of equality till then unknown [p]. But even in the thoughts of those who proposed them, it was not against the king nor his dignity and power that these demands were directed; none thought that his prerogative was concerned in the support of rotten boroughs, in the scandalous profits of the lawyers, or in the frauds of a few debtors. Berkley thought that these conditions were more mild than could scarcely have been hoped for, and in his opinion, never had a crown so nearly lost been redeemed

[p] See the *Eclaircissemens et Pièces Historiques*, at the end of Hollis's Memoirs, p. 265-276 of the Collection.

at so cheap a rate. He solicited and obtained leave to communicate them privately to the king[q], before they were officially presented by the army. His astonishment was still greater than at their first interview; Charles thought the conditions very hard, and expressed this with much displeasure: "If they really wished to treat with me," he said, "they would propose conditions that I could accept." Berkley ventured to make a few observations, he even urged the danger of a refusal: "No," said the king, roughly breaking off the conversation, "without me these people cannot save themselves, you will soon see them glad to accept of more just conditions[r]."

Berkley endeavoured in vain to discover the grounds for so much confidence, when the news arrived that the most violent insurrection had broken out in the city, that bands of citizens and apprentices besieged Westminster, that it was expected every hour that the parliament would be obliged to vote the king's return, the re-admission of the eleven members, and, in a word, the most fatal resolutions to the army and its party. For the last fortnight, particularly since the dismissal for six months sent to the eleven members[s] had deprived its party of all hopes, the most threatening symptoms, mobs, petitions,

[q] About the 25th of July.

[r] Berkley, Memoirs, p. 163-183.

[s] July 20th, 1647; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 712; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 628.

tumultuous cries, announced this explosion; a measure which was regarded on both sides as decisive, caused it to burst forth. The presbyterian committee, which had been for the last two months intrusted with the government of the London militia, was dissolved, and the independents again got possession of that important trust[t]. The city could not resign itself to be thus represented and commanded by its enemies: in a few hours the excitement became general; a paper was placarded in Skinners'-hall, the purport of which was an engagement of doing every thing to promote the king's return in honour and safety to London, and it was immediately signed by an immense number of persons; upon the departure of the messenger for head-quarters, copies of it were sent all over England; a petition was drawn up to demand the approbation of the house; the disbanded officers joined the people; in short, everything announced a general movement of a most violent character[u].

The army immediately marched towards London[x]; Fairfax wrote threatening letters in its name; strengthened by this support, the independent party immediately caused it to be declared in both houses that all who subscribed the engagement of the city should be declared traitors[y]. These threats came too late to re-

[t] July 25th.

[u] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 712; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 635; Whitelocke, p. 261; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 187.

[x] July 23rd. [y] July 24th.

press public feeling: early in the morning, on the second day after this declaration, Westminster was surrounded by numerous groups of apprentices, disbanded officers, and watermen; they were noisy, abusive, and evidently come to execute some bold and settled design. The commons were alarmed, and gave orders, as soon as they were assembled[z], for the doors to be closed, and that no member should go out without permission. A petition was presented from the common council, requesting, in a moderate and respectful tone, that the command of the militia should be restored to those leaders from whom it had just been taken, and at the same time informing the parliament of the impatience shown by the people, though without any attempt at intimidation. During the debate upon this petition the speaker was informed that the multitude assembled without had another to present; two members went out to receive it; it was read immediately. It expressed, and still less rudely than might have been expected, the same wishes as that presented by the common council. The debate, however, was adjourned, and no answer returned; the day was drawing to a close, and yet, instead of being tired, the multitude seemed only irritated by the delay: every avenue leading to Westminster was crowded; the noise of steps and voices already rang through the hall, as well as cries of "Let us go

[z] July 26th.

in! let us go in!" even the door was assailed by repeated and violent knocks. Several members drew their swords, and for a short time repelled the attack. The house of peers was threatened in like manner; several apprentices climbed up to the windows, and throwing stones from thence, seemed ready to do worse if they were not heard. Resistance was nevertheless maintained: at last the door of the commons was broken open; the most enraged, to the number of forty or fifty, rushed in, and with their hats on, and the most violent threats, being supported by an immense crowd, they cried "Divide, divide!" At length both houses conceded; the declaration of the preceding day was recalled, and the command of the militia given back to the presbyterian committee. The tumult seemed over, and the speaker had left the chair, when a group of the enraged mob seized him, and made him return to it; he asked them what they wanted; "the king's return! that you should vote the king's return!" The proposal was immediately voted and adopted; Ludlow alone opposed it by a firm and loud "No[a]."

When this news arrived, it caused nearly as great an uproar in the army, particularly in the lower ranks, among the agitators and soldiers; the king was on all sides accused of compliance

[a] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 717, etc.; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 640-644; Whitelocke, p. 263; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 188; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 232.

and perfidy. Lord Lauderdale, who had been sent from London by the Scottish commissioners to converse with him, gave rise to so much suspicion, that one morning before he was up the soldiers suddenly entered his room and obliged him to depart immediately, without again seeing the king[b]. Ashburnham, who had arrived three days before, increased their displeasure and suspicions by his insolent and contemptuous behaviour. He refused all intercourse with the agitators: "I have always lived in good society," said he to Berkley; "I can have nothing to do with such creatures as these: the officers must be made sure of; through them we shall have the whole army;" and he only sought to converse with the generals alone[c]. But even among those officers who had appeared to draw towards the king, several now began to estrange themselves: "Sir," said Ireton, "you desire to carry it as though you were arbiter between us and the parliament; but it is we who *will* be arbiters between you and the parliament[d]." Yet, still fearful of what might be going on in London, they resolved to present their proposals officially[e]. Ashburnham and Berkley were present at the conference. Charles was cold and haughty; he listened with an ironical smile to the reading of the proposals,

[b] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 737.
[c] Berkley, Memoirs, p. 184.
[d] Ibid., p. 170
[e] August 1st, 1647.

and refused almost all of them in a few words and in a bitter tone, as if certain of his own power, and glad of an opportunity of manifesting his displeasure. Ireton bluntly urged the proposals, saying that the army would grant no others. Charles interrupted him abruptly, saying: "You cannot do without me; you are lost if I do not support you." The officers looked at Ashburnham and Berkley with astonishment, as if to inquire the meaning of such a reception; Berkley, on his side, sought by his looks to warn the king of his imprudence, but without success. At last, approaching near him, he whispered in his ear: "Your majesty speaks as if you had resources of strength and power that I know not of; since your majesty has hidden them from me, I could have wished you had also concealed them from these people." Charles found he had gone too far, and hastened to soften his language; but most of the officers had already taken their resolution; Rainsborough, who was most adverse to any accommodation, had even left the room unperceived, in order to disseminate through the army that it was impossible to trust the king. The conference ended in a dry and wearisome manner, as between persons who could no longer agree, nor deceive one another [f].

The officers had scarcely returned to headquarters when several carriages arrived there from London, and to the great astonishment of

[f] Berkley, Memoirs, p. 185, 186.

the crowd, more than sixty members of both houses alighted from them[g], having at their head lord Manchester the chairman of the lords, and Lenthall the speaker, stating that they had just escaped from the fury of the mob to seek safety and freedom of debate under the protection of the army. The joy of the army was equal to their surprise: they had dreaded a violent rupture with parliament; and now the parliament itself, with its legal chiefs, its faithful members, had come to them for protection. Officers and soldiers crowded round the fugitives, and listened with indignation to the recital of the dangers and grievances to which they had been exposed; they were loaded with thanks and praise; thanksgiving was offered to the Lord for their patriotic resolution. The surprise of Cromwell and his friends was only feigned. For the last five days, by means of their correspondents in London, particularly by the intervention of St. John, Vane, Haslerig, and Ludlow, they had been labouring to bring about this event[h].

[g] The number of the members is very uncertain; Hollis positively mentions eight lords, and fifty-eight members of the commons (p. 190); Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 750, speaks of fourteen lords and *about* one hundred members of the commons; the same is also stated by Whitelocke, (p. 265). When a nominal appeal was made in the upper house, on the 30th of July, the absence of twenty lords is recorded; Parl Hist., vol. iii. col. 727. All the fugitives did not leave London together, nor on the same day.

[h] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 723-731; Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 646; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 190; Ludlow, Memoirs, part 1, p. 234, etc.

Berkley hastened to communicate this melancholy news to the king, conjuring him at the same time to address a letter to the army which would give them hopes of a better reception to their proposals, or which should at least disarm suspicion, and do away with the bad effects of the last meeting. This, he said, was the opinion of Cromwell and Ireton, who, provided he would do this, still answered for the disposition of the army. But Charles had also received news from London: the riot had not been unknown to him; he received intelligence that on the very day the fugitive members had left London, those who remained, by far the greater number, had elected two new speakers; the commons, Mr. Pelham, the upper house lord Willoughby of Parham; that the eleven banished members had resumed their seats, and that parliament thus reorganised had immediately commanded the army to halt, the city to prepare every means of defence, and Massey, Brown, Waller, and Poyntz, to form a few regiments as speedily as possible. Their zeal was represented as very great: at a meeting of the common council thousands of apprentices had come, and swore to do their utmost for the king, however great the danger, and against all enemies whatsoever. The inhabitants of Southwark had alone shown an untoward disposition; but just as they brought their petition to Guildhall, Poyntz, followed by a few officers, had so roughly driven them back, that they dared not venture to make another

attempt. Money was levied, cannon placed on the ramparts. Finally, the king was solemnly invited to return to London; and this vote, after being proclaimed by sound of trumpet in every street, was to reach him in a few hours, or at latest the next day[1]. "I shall wait," said the king to Berkley; "there will be time enough to write this letter." In the mean time, a messenger arrived from head-quarters with intelligence that fresh fugitives from Westminster had arrived and joined their colleagues; and that others had written to say that they should retire into the country, and that they would not acknowledge this pretended parliament. Even in London, the independent party, though few in number, remained firm, and lost neither time nor courage; they thwarted, delayed, and weakened every measure which they had not power to prevent; the money which had been collected was but slowly employed; the men who had enlisted under Massey were without arms; a few presbyterian preachers, among others Mr. Marshall, having been propitiated by the army, inspired the people on all sides with fear, and a desire for reconciliation; the honest members, both of parliament and of the common council, began to incline towards the latter, flattering themselves that they should have the honour of re-establishing peace. In short, Cromwell sent

[1] Rushworth, part 4, vol. i. p. 652-656; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 728; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 197-204; Whitelocke, p. 265.

word to Ashburnham that in less than two days the city would be in their power[l].

Charles still hesitated: he assembled his most faithful servants; the letter was composed, debated, thrown aside, and began again; at length he signed it[m]. Ashburnham and Berkley set off with it to head-quarters; they met another messenger on the road, who had been despatched by two officers who were their friends to hasten the sending of the letter; they arrived. The submission of the city had arrived before them. The fugitive members had just reviewed the army on Hounslow heath[n], in the midst of the most noisy acclamations; they marched together towards London, certain of entering the city without an obstacle. The king's letter or friendship was no longer of any importance to the conquerors[o].

Two days after, on the 6th of August, a brilliant and formidable procession set out from Kensington for Westminster, three regiments composed the vanguard, and a fourth brought up the rear; between these rode Fairfax and the officers of his staff on horseback, and the fugitive members in their carriages, behind them came a multitude of their partisans, anxious to share their triumph. A double rank of soldiers

[l] Hollis, Memoirs, p. 204-207; Berkley, Memoirs, p. 188; Ludlow, vol. i. p. 235; Whitelocke, p. 267.

[m] August 4th; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 753.

[n] August 3rd.

[o] Berkley, Memoirs, p. 188; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 750.

lined the road, each with a branch of laurel in his hat, and shouting: "Long live the parliament! the free parliament!" At Hyde-park the lord mayor and aldermen had drawn up to compliment the general on the re-establishment of peace between the army and the city; Fairfax scarcely answered them as he passed. Further on, at Charing-cross, the whole common council in a body awaited him in like manner, but did not receive a more favourable greeting. On arriving at Westminster, most of the presbyterian leaders had absconded or concealed themselves; Fairfax re-established the patrons of the army in their seats, received their pompous thanks with an air of humility, waited to hear that a month's pay was voted for his troops, and then went and took possession of the Tower, of which he was immediately appointed govenor [p].

Two days after, the whole army marched through London in the strictest order, Skippon marching in the centre and Cromwell in the rear; no excesses were committed, not one citizen received the slightest insult or injury [q]; the aim of the leaders was at once to remove the fears and make a deep impression on the minds of the citizens. They gained their object: at the sight of so many soldiers so firm and proud, so obedient yet threatening, the presbyterians shut

[p] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 756; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 736 etc.; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 210.

[q] Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 258; Clarendon, Hist of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 335; Whitelocke, p. 267.

themselves up in their houses, the independents everywhere took possession of power, and the timid crowded with eager confidence round the conquerors. The common council invited Fairfax and his officers to accept a public dinner. Fairfax refused; far from taking offence they only hastened the chasing of a golden ewer to present it to him[r]. Even a certain number of apprentices came to offer him their congratulations, and he gave them a formal audience, delighted with the opportunity of making it appear that the army had its partisans even among these dreaded youths[s]. On their part, both houses of parliament, but particularly the lords, made a servile display of their gratitude; they voted, that all that had been done since the members who had sought a refuge with the army had left, was, as a matter of course, void, without its being necessary to repeal it[t]. This vote met with some opposition in the commons; they consented to report all, to prosecute everywhere the authors of the riot which had caused the members to abscond; but most of the members who had remained at Westminster had taken a part in those acts which they were now requested to declare absolutely void; three times they refused to give up this point[u]. The

[r] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 761-764; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 220.

[s] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 778.

[t] August 6th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 745.

[u] August 10th and 19th; the proposition was rejected by ninety-six voices against ninety-three, eighty-five against eighty-three, and eighty-seven against eighty-four; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 756-773.

day following[x], a detachment of cavalry encamped in Hyde-park; soldiers were stationed round the house, and at every access to it; within, Cromwell and Ireton in threatening language supported the resolution of the lords[y]; it was at length adopted; and nothing was now wanting to complete the triumph of the army, as even those who had been defeated by it, proclaimed its legitimacy. After this great success, so easily obtained, the revolutionary spirit, which had till then been restrained or regulated, even among the independents, by the necessities of the struggle, took a free and lofty flight; passions, hopes, and dreams became bold, and exhibited themselves in open day. Among the higher ranks of the party, in the house of commons and in the general council of officers, republican projects became plain and positive: Vane, Ludlow, Haslerig, Martyn, Scott, and Hutchinson, had for some time past scarcely answered when any one accused them of wishing to do away with monarchy; now they only mentioned it with contempt; the principle of the sovereignty of the people vested in one only assembly, appointed by them, and governing in their name, was now the sole theory by which they ruled their actions and their discourse; and in their conversations, all notion of agreement with the king, upon any terms whatsoever was

[x] August 20th.

[y] Hollis, Memoirs, p. 215-219; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 758-773; Whitelocke, p. 268.

treated as treason. Beneath them, among the people as well as in the army, a general fermentation of minds was conspicuous; upon every subject reforms till then unheard of were called for, on all sides reformers came forward; no law inspired them with respect, no fact seemed an obstacle to their wild desires; the more confident and imperious, in proportion to their ignorance and obscurity, their petitions and pamphlets were every day renewed, and more numerous and threatening. When brought to justice they questioned the authority of the judges themselves, and summoned them to leave a seat they had usurped; when attacked in the church by the presbyterian ministers, they dragged the preachers from their pulpits and preached in their stead; sincere in their enthusiasm, still using it skilfully to serve their passions. No powerful and complete doctrine, no precise and general intention, regulated this movement; these popular champions, all republicans, did not confine their thoughts and wishes to the fulfilment of a revolution in government alone; taking a much wider range, they desired to change society itself, the mutual intercourse, manners, and feelings of the people; in this respect their views were narrow and confused; some spent their vigour in following with much bluster some important but partial innovation, such as the abolition of the privileges of the lords or the lawyers; others were led away by some pious dream, such as the expectation

the of approaching reign of the Lord; others, under the name of rationalists, claimed absolute sovereignty for the reason of every individual[y]; a few others talked of introducing a rigorous equality of rights and property among men, and to these their enemies gave the name of *levellers*. But neither this reviled name, for which they constantly showed their aversion, nor any other was appropriate to them; for they neither formed a sect devoted to any systematic belief, nor a faction anxious to advance towards any definite end. Citizens or soldiers, visionaries or demagogues, felt in common a desire of innovation, rather passionate than extensive; vague notions of equality, and, above all, a rude spirit of independence, were their general characteristics; and being inspired by an ambition short-sighted but pure, sternly obstinate with those who appeared to them weak or interested, they formed by turns the strength and terror of the different parties, who successively were compelled to make use of them and deceive them.

None had succeeded so well as Cromwell in both these designs; none lived in such intimate confidence with these obscure but violent enthusiasts. Every thing in him, from the very beginning, had found favour in their eyes; the irregular bursts of his imagination, his eagerness to make himself the equal and the companion of the most vulgar among them, his mystic and fa-

[y] Clarendon, State Papers, vol. ii. Appendix p. xl.

miliar language, his manners by turns familiar and exalted, seeming at one time naturally free and easy and at others the effect of inspiration, even that free and supple genius by which he was enabled to enlist all the resources of worldly skill in the service of a holy cause, gave him additional credit with this party. He had sought and found among them his most useful agents; Ayres, Evanson, Berry, Sexby, Sheppard, and Wildman, all members of the council of agitators, were always ready at a word from the lieutenant to stir up the army either against the king or the parliament. Lilburne himself, the most unmanageable and least credulous of them all, who had left his regiment because he could not obey, had the greatest confidence in Cromwell: "I look upon you," he wrote to him, "to be among the powerful ones of England, the one whose heart is the most perfectly pure and free from personal views[z];" and Cromwell more than once employed Lilburne's courage against the presbyterians[a]. But when the ruin of the presbyterians seemed accomplished, when the independents held the king, the parliament, and the city in their power, when all passions, all revolutionary desires showed themselves to be insatiable, blind, and ungovernable, the situation of the leaders of the party, that of Cromwell in

[z] Letter of March 25th, 1647.

[a] See the *Eclaircissemens et Pièces historiques* at the end of Hollis, Memoirs, p. 277-303 in the Collection.

particular, to whom they all looked up, could not be long without feeling the influence of this new state of affairs. In their turn they excited distrust, and felt some degree of fear. Many of their own party had disliked the negotiations which had been opened with the king; necessity alone, the danger of falling into the power of the presbyterians, had repressed hatreds and restrained suspicions. Now all necessity had disappeared; the Lord had given up his enemies into the hands of his servants. Yet, instead of terminating and assuring the triumph of his cause, the conquerors continued to live in friendship and to parley with the delinquents. The first, the most culpable of all, the one on whose head faithful voices had two years ago[b] called down public vengeance, and who in his mad pride had lately refused proposals which ought perhaps never to have been made to him,—the king, far from losing anything by the late events, had almost regained his power and splendour. With the consent of the generals he had returned to Hampton Court[c], where he lived surrounded by a court more arrogant than ever, and served with almost idolatrous pomp. His former councillors, Richmond, Hertford, Capel, and Southampton, had hastened to join him as if they had

[b] As early as the month of May, 1646, a few independents had requested that the king should be tried as the greatest delinquent. Baillie, Letters, vol. ii. p. 209, 213, 225.

[c] August 24th.

been about to reassume the exercise of sovereign power[d]. Ormond himself, the most dangerous leader of the royalists in Ireland, he who had so lately kept up the struggle in that kingdom against the parliament, and who at last had with the greatest difficulty been compelled to give up Dublin—Ormond, upon his arrival in England, was received by the general, the lieutenant-general, and all the leaders of the army, with eager complaisance[e], and was allowed freely to visit the king, probably meditating with him another insurrection in Ireland. Meantime the most active confidants of the king, Berkley, Ashburnham, Ford, and Apsley, went and came between the court and head-quarters, keeping up a continual correspondence between them; the doors of Cromwell and Ireton were always open to them, while a number of well-affected persons could gain no admittance within them[f]. On their side, Cromwell and Ireton carried on the most assiduous intercourse with the king; they had been seen walking together in the park, and were often closeted together. Even their wives, Mrs. Ireton, Mrs. Cromwell, and Mrs. Whalley, had been presented at Hampton Court, and the king had received them with great honours[g]. So much familiarity was thought a scandal, and

[d] Herbert, Memoirs, p. 33; Mrs. Hutchinson, Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 136.

[e] Whitelocke, p. 269.

[f] Berkley, Memoirs, p. 190.

[g] Clarendon, State Papers, vol. ii. Appendix, p. xl.

so much intercourse the forerunner of treason. This opinion was expressed every day among the republicans and enthusiasts, particularly in the meetings of the soldiers; and even Lilburne from within the walls of the Tower, where the lords had caused him to be confined, to repress if possible his speech and his pamphlets, addressed to Cromwell the most violent reproaches, ending his letter with these words: "If you despise my warnings as you have hitherto done, know, that I will employ all the power of my influence against you, and in such a way as to produce an alteration in your fortune that shall give you but little pleasure[h]."

Cromwell would have taken but little notice of Lilburne's advice, nor even of his threats, had he not found them supported by the displeasure of so many men who were formerly his devoted friends. Though ready enough to engage even with temerity in intrigue or hope, he had still a keen sense of the dangers and obstacles of his situation, and knew, whatever his aim or passion, how to look on every side, and listen to every voice, and act in every direction. He begged Ashburnham and Berkley not to visit him so often, and the king to excuse his being more reserved in his intercourse with him. "If I am an honest man," he said, "I have already done enough to convince his majesty of the sincerity of my intentions; if not, nothing will be suffi-

[h] This letter was written on the 13th of August, 1647.

cient[i]." At the same time he paid a long visit to Lilburne in the Tower, to whom he expatiated on the extent of his zeal for their common cause, urging, with much warmth, the danger of the slightest disunion. He asked him what he meant to do upon regaining his liberty, and promised him, upon taking his leave, to use his influence with the committee charged with his trial, to hasten the moment of his enlargement[k].

Lilburne however did not regain his liberty; the committee, of which Henry Martin was chairman, even adjourned their report[l]; and Cromwell's communications with the king, though more secret, were not less frequent. A stranger to the blind presumption of his party, and devoured by ambition and uncertainty, the most contrary combinations and cares agitated his thoughts, and he wished alike to avoid pledging himself to any party, or entirely breaking with any. The success of the republicans seemed doubtful to him, the views of the enthusiasts chimerical; the impertinence and violent insubordination of the soldiers threatened his own power; insubordination rendered him indignant even whilst he was fomenting it; the king's name was still a power, his alliance a means, his re-establishment a chance; he kept it in reserve as many others did, who, like him, were ready to abandon it for a better, pushing constantly his

[i] Berkley, Memoirs, p. 191.

[k] Biographia Britannica, article Lilburne, vol. v. p. 2950.

[l] Ibid.

own fortune by every means, and always by those which promised the greatest or readiest success. The king, on his side, being well informed of the disposition of minds in parliament and the army, gave another turn to his negotiations: he addressed them less to the party than to its leaders, and rather intimated individual favours than public concessions. To Ireton was offered the government of Ireland; to Cromwell the general command of the armies and of the king's guards, the title of earl of Essex, and the garter; similar advantages were designed for their principal friends. In the mean time two royalists, judge Jenkins, and a cavalier, Sir Lewis Dives, who were prisoners in the Tower with Lilburne, were continually talking with him of the treaty which, they said, was already agreed upon between the generals and the court, related the conditions of it to him, raised his suspicions, and urged him to propagate them. The mere suspicion of such a bargain caused a great agitation in the party; and if accepted, it would assure the king the support of the leaders, and leave themselves without support[m].

The two generals could not remain ignorant of these manœuvres, for they had surrounded the king with their spies; colonel Whalley, who kept guard over him with his regiment, was the cousin and creature of Cromwell; the least incident in the king's life, his walks, his discourse,

[m] Berkley, Memoirs, p. 169. Whitelocke, p. 271.

the visits and the proceedings of his councillors, the indiscretions of his servants, were minutely reported to him[n]; and more than once they complained that reports from Hampton Court, which were propagated as if by design, by destroying their influence, rendered them incapable of serving the king in the army. Ireton, in particular, who was more severe in his manners, and who could not brook deceit, was so much displeased, that he attempted to break off the negotiations. They however continued; and soon even the public conduct of the generals seemed to confirm the suspicions of the soldiers. At the entreaties of the Scots, and to give some satisfaction to the partisans of peace[o], parliament had decided that the proposals which had been made at Newcastle should once more be presented to the king; the earls of Lauderdale and Lanark, who had lately arrived at Hampton Court, once more conjured him to accept them, and finally unite himself with the presbyterians, who were the only party sincere in their wish of saving him[p]. Alarmed at this danger, Cromwell and Ireton renewed their promises and protestations to the king, advised him to refuse these proposals, and to request that those of the army,

[n] See, in Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 795, a letter, in which Whalley gives an account of the manner in which the king spends his time, and of everything which happens at Hampton Court.

[o] August 27th, 1647; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 774-775.

[p] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 343; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 240.

which were so much more favourable, should be made the foundation of another treaty; promising to support this request by every means in their power. "We are determined," Ireton sent word to the king, "to purge the house again and again, and never to rest until it shall be disposed to settle your majesty's affairs; for my part, rather than fail in the performance of what I have promised the king, I would ally myself with the French, the Spaniards, or the cavaliers, in short, with any who would assist me in accomplishing it[q]." Charles followed the advice of the generals, and upon receiving his answer[r], a violent debate arose in the commons; the presbyterians, who were highly irritated, were not willing to withdraw their proposals; the fanatics demanded that henceforward none should be made or received. Cromwell and Ireton, as they had promised, spoke in favour of compliance with the king's desire that a treaty should be opened between him and the parliament, based upon the conditions which had been offered to him by the army; this attempt on their part, made the more noise from its failure, the presbyterians and the fanatics having united to defeat it[s].

The suspicions and displeasure of the soldiers

[q] Huntingdon, Memoirs, p. 323.

[r] The answer was dated September 9th, 1647. Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 777-779.

[s] September 22nd, 1647; Berkley, Memoirs, p. 191-193; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 240; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 231; Huntingdon, Memoirs, p. 321-323; Journals of the House of Commons.

now became serious; in all the cantonments of the army, meetings both tumultuous and secret were held; in all these the words 'ambition, treason, deceit,' were to be heard, and always in connection with Cromwell's name; every expression which had escaped from him in the heat of discourse was brought forward and angrily commented upon: he had talked of the necessity of putting an end to the persecution of the cavaliers; he had said: "Now that I have the king in my hand, I have the parliament in my pocket[t]:" at another time he had said; "Since Hollis and Stapleton have had so much authority, I do not see why I should not govern the kingdom as well as they[u]." Finally, it was he who had brought forward a thousand little incidents in the committee charged with Lilburne's trial which had been the cause of his being still detained in prison[x]. Lilburne formally accused him to the agitators, and enumerated all the places which were held by him or his creatures[y]. The agitators on their side petitioned parliament for Lilburne[z] to be set at liberty, and Fairfax for the release of four soldiers, who were confined, as they said, for merely having used a few offensive and threatening words against the king[a]. It was even a subject

[t] Banks, A Critical Review, etc. p. 83.
[u] Huntingdon, Memoirs, p. 326.
[x] Biographia Britannica, art. 'Lilburne,' vol. v. p. 2950, note 2.
[y] Ibid., p. 2949, note [ee].
[z] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 790.
[a] Ibid., p. 808-811.

of debate among Lilburne, Wildman, and a few others, whether they should get rid of Cromwell by assassination [b]. No attempt of the kind, however, was made; but whether in consequence of this, or from some other cause, even the council of agitators became suspicious to the soldiers; it was said that the lieutenant-general had creatures among them who informed him of everything. To shield themselves from this danger several regiments appointed other agitators, under the name of 'new agents,' in whom they could place more confidence, and who were charged to watch the traitors, and serve the good cause on all occasions, in every place, and at whatever sacrifice. A few superior officers and members of the commons, Rainsborough, Ewers, Harrison, Robert Lilburne [c], and Scott, placed themselves at the head of this insurrection; and thus the most violent faction, unconnected with the general council of officers and with the house, began openly to proclaim its maxims and designs [d].

Cromwell felt much anxiety: he saw the army disunited, the royalists and the presbyterians watching every turn that they might profit by it, and himself attacked by men of the most ungovernable dispositions, who had hitherto been

[b] Hollis, Memoirs, p. 232; Berkley, Memoirs, p. 193.

[c] The brother of John Lilburne, and the colonel of a regiment of infantry.

[d] Towards the beginning of October, 1647; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 241; Journals of the House of Lords. November the 16th and 17th, 1647.

his warmest friends, his most useful instruments. The king's intentions, too, became every day more and more suspicious: "I have my own game to play," said Charles to Ireton, who pressed him to join them openly[e]; while the lords Lauderdale and Lanark, who assiduously continued their attentions to him, promised him the support of a Scottish army if he would accept of their alliance. It was said that the principal articles of a treaty were already agreed upon; and even that in Scotland, where Hamilton's credit prevailed above that of Argyle, troops were marching towards the borders[f]. On the other hand, the English cavaliers, Capel, Langdale, and Musgrave, were secretly fomenting an insurrection. The king had said to Capel, "Be assured that the two nations will soon be at war; the Scotch promise themselves the support of all the presbyterians; let our friends, then, be ready and in arms, for unless they are, whichever party is victorious, we shall not gain much by it[g]." In the meantime the situation of the army quartered in the neighbourhood of London became very critical; the city opposed a deaf ear to every demand for money to pay the men, and the officers were unable to govern troops whom they could not pay[h]. The most violent

[e] Mrs. Hutchinson, Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 135.

[f] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. viii. p. 348; Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 786-810.

[g] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. viii. p. 341.

[h] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 804, 815, 829, 837-840; Whitelocke, p. 274.

pamphlets circulated on every side; sometimes setting forth the designs of the soldiers against the king, at others the king's negotiations with the generals. Fairfax had in vain requested and obtained that all manuscripts should be submitted to a severe tribunal before their publication[j]; in vain had Cromwell represented to the city the necessities of the army; as vainly had he exhausted every stratagem and reason to persuade the fanatics that they must keep a check upon their conduct if they expected to be paid by the moderate, and the moderate that they must pay the fanatics if they would keep them quiet[k]; it was to as little purpose that he had succeeded in getting some of his most devoted confidants placed among the new agents of the army[l]. His efforts were fruitless; even his prudence turned against him; he had reserved for himself connections and means of action with all parties, and everywhere a wild unbounded commotion threatened to counteract his schemes and ruin his influence. All his skill had only served to burden his situation with troubles and danger.

Amid this perplexity, one of the spies whom he had placed at Hampton Court, even in the very chamber of the king, sent him word that on that very day, a letter from the king to the

[j] By an ordinance of September 30th, 1647; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 779-781; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 799.

[k] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 883, 884

[l] Huntingdon, Memoirs, p. 326.

queen would be sent from the castle, which contained Charles's real designs towards the army. This letter was sewn up in the pannel of a saddle, and the bearer of it would come with the saddle on his head, about ten o'clock that night, to the Blue Boar in Holborn, where he was to take horse for Dover, whence the packet would sail for France. Cromwell and Ireton immediately formed their resolution; they disguised themselves as troopers, and followed by a soldier whom they could trust, they left Windsor to go to the appointed place. As soon as they arrived they placed the man on the watch, and went into the tavern and called for some beer. At about ten a messenger appeared with a saddle on his head: upon being immediately informed of it, they went out sword in hand, seized the saddle under the pretext that they had orders to search every thing which went in and out from that place. They ripped open the pannels and found the letter; and having carefully closed the places they had opened, they returned the saddle to the terrified messenger, saying, with an air of good humour, that he was an honest fellow, and that he might continue his journey.

They had not been deceived by the information given them: it was indeed a letter from Charles to the queen, in which he told her that he was courted by both factions, that he should close with that whose conditions would be most for his advantage; but that he would rather treat with the Scottish commissioners than with

the army: "I am alone aware of my situation," he added; "be undisturbed as to the concessions which I may grant; when the time comes, I shall very well know how to treat these fellows, and instead of a silken garter they may expect a hempen halter." The two generals looked at each other, and all their suspicions being thus confirmed, they returned to Windsor, and henceforward all uncertainty respecting their designs upon the king, or respecting his towards them, was banished[m].

It was high time that their conduct should cease to be wavering and undecided: the wrath of the fanatics broke forth, and threw the army into the greatest confusion. On the 9th of October, in the name of five regiments of horse, Cromwell's own regiment being one, the new agitators drew up a long declaration of their suspicions, their principles, and their wishes, under the title of 'The Case of the Army.' They presented it officially to the general on the 18th; and on the 1st of November another pamphlet, under the title of 'An Agreement of the People for a firm and present Peace on the ground of common right,' was addressed to the whole nation in the name of sixteen regiments. In both these documents the soldiers accused the officers of treason, and the parliament of violence and

[m] This fact occurred in the course of the month of October; see the Elucidations and Historical Documents added to the Memoirs of Sir John Berkley, p. 231-240; Clarendon, State Papers, vol. ii. Appendix, p. xxxviii.

extortion; they exhorted their comrades to join them, requesting that the present parliament should be dissolved; that henceforth no person or body should partake with the commons of sovereign power; that the commons themselves should be elected every two years; that the right of voting should be equally distributed all over the country according to population and taxation; that no member should be immediately re-elected, and that imprisonment for debt should be abolished, and that no citizen should be pressed for military service, nor excluded from any office on account of his religion; that local magistrates should be elected by the people; that the civil law should be equal for all, should be revised, and embodied in one code; finally, that certain rights, particularly liberty of conscience, should be declared inviolable, and beyond the reach of human power [n].

Upon this explosion of popular ideas and hopes, the anxiety of the leaders was extreme; many of the most sensible among them, though enemies to the court and presbyterians, looked upon monarchy and the upper house as so powerfully, so deeply rooted in the traditions, laws, and manners of the nation, that a republic, now that it seemed so near and impending, appeared to them but a perilous chimera. Among

[n] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 845, 859; Whitelocke, p. 276, 277; Godwin, History of the Commonwealth, vol. ii. p. 445-450; Elucidations and Historical Documents appended to the Memoirs of Hollis, p. 296 in the Collection.

the republicans themselves, the greater part of them, though bold and sincere, were far from going all the lengths of the soldiers; some who possessed influence in the return of members for certain places, feared that the introduction of a new system would deprive them of their power; others, who had purchased church property, heard with terror the people express their indignation that these estates should have been sold at so low a price, and the request that such sales should be declared void; the lawyers were anxious to retain their influence and profits; and all passionately opposed the dissolution of the present house of commons, and that their cause should be intrusted to the chance of a new election. Common sense, moreover, seemed outraged by the want of social importance; the fanatical madness and haughty insubordination of the reforming soldiers. How could a government be founded in opposition to the presbyterians and the royalists, by an ungovernable faction, so blind and senseless in its conduct as every day to put in jeopardy the harmony of the army, although its only support? How could so many facts, so many ancient and respected rights, be attacked in the mere name of a few fanatical and obscure sectarians? Yet upon hearing of the dreams of this set, a commotion, till then without example, agitated the lower classes in every part of the kingdom; those beautiful but shadowy notions of absolute justice, those impassioned desires of equal happiness, which,

though often stifled, are never extinguished in the heart of man, burst out on every side, with all the blindness and fury of perfect confidence; even the leaders themselves, who refused to give ear to them, knew not how to oppose them, nourishing as they did in their own bosoms, the self-same principles, in whose name these wishes were proclaimed.

Their first proceedings were consequently weak and fluctuating. The houses voted that the two pamphlets were an attack upon the government of the kingdom, and that their authors should be prosecuted; but at the same time, to satisfy the republicans, they voted that the king was bound to adopt whatever should be proposed to him by parliament[o]. The general council of officers assembled at Putney[p], summoned all the principal agitators to join them, and a committee, of which several of them formed a part, received orders speedily to draw up a statement of all their demands. The committee accordingly immediately drew up a string of proposals to parliament, in which most of these demands were inserted; but the name and essential prerogatives of the king were not omitted in it[q]. The agitators protested against it: they were promised that the question whether monarchical power should any longer exist in England should

[o] November 6th; Journals, etc. November 5th and 6th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 705.

[p] October 22nd; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 849.

[q] November 2nd; ibid., p. 861, etc.

be freely discussed in a future council, shortly to be held. But when the day came, Ireton suddenly left the room, protesting that he would never re-enter it if such a question were even allowed to be debated. The debate was adjourned till the following Monday, November 6th; and, whether once more to elude it, or whether more compliance was hoped for from the soldiers in a body, it was agreed that the whole army should be invited to a general meeting, at which every individual of whom it was composed might declare his opinion [r].

But Cromwell, who had proposed this remedy, easily perceived the danger to which it would lead. Every new debate only increased the dissensions of the army; the more they were consulted, the more they eluded the government of their leaders and fell into anarchy [s]. To render the army useful, nay, to save it from destruction, it was necessary that discipline should be re-established, and a command obtained over it without delay. Imperious conditions must follow the success of this general meeting: it was evident that the soldiers, at least the most active among them, the leaders and fanatics, would no longer acknowledge the king's authority; that they would forsake, nay more, attack whoever should appear favourable to him; and, in a word,

[r] Clarendon, State Papers, vol. ii. Appendix, p. xli; Letter of several agitators to their respective regiments; Godwin, History of the Commonwealth, vol. ii. p. 451-452.

[s] Clarendon, State Papers, vol. ii. Appendix, p. xl.

that they would give their support and obedience to him who should in this coincide with their will, and make himself the executor of it. Cromwell formed his resolution. When the day of council came, all debate was forbidden; the superior officers declared, that to re-establish harmony in the army it was necessary that all the officers and agitators should return to their regiments; that instead of a general meeting, there should be three partial meetings held at the quarters of the principal divisions of the army; that till then the council should no longer meet, but should leave the general and the parliament to act[t]. At the same time, the king's situation at Hampton Court was suddenly changed: his councillors, Richmond, Southampton, and Ormond, received orders to depart; his most devoted servants, among others Berkley and Ashburnham, were taken from him; his guards were doubled; and he no longer enjoyed the same liberty in his walks. From all sides dark insinuations reached him; it was reported that the soldiers wished to seize his person, to take him from the officers as they had from the parliament. Cromwell himself wrote with much anxiety to Whalley on the subject; perhaps he really feared some attempt of the kind; it might be he merely wished to frighten the king, or, which is most likely, that, careful as ever, to prepare himself against all chances, he still wished to deceive

[t] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 866.

him respecting his intentions and appear intent on serving him[u].

These changes, these reports, so many new restrictions, a thousand hints of treason, of terrible designs, even murder, threw the unfortunate Charles into an anxiety which daily became more insupportable; his imagination, though grave, warm, and sensitive, was disturbed; an unsuccessful chase, a painful dream, the going out of his lamp in the night[x], everything seemed to him an ominous presage; everything seemed to him possible from the hands of his enemies, though his pride would not allow him to believe they would dare proceed to extremities. He was advised to abscond; he was tempted to do it; but where could he go? who would assist him? The Scottish commissioners offered to favour his escape; even one day while they were hunting, Lauderdale told him they were close by with fifty horse, and that if he would join them they would immediately depart at full speed for the north[y]. But all sudden resolutions alarmed the king; besides, what asylum could he find among the Scots, who had already given him up once, now that he had no means of opposing the presbyterian yoke and the covenant—

[u] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 842; Berkley, Memoirs, p. 194; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 234; Huntingdon, p. 224; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. viii. p. 348, vol. ix. p. 1, 2; Mrs. Hutchinson, Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 138.

[x] Herbert, Memoirs, p. 88.

[y] Burnet, Memoirs of the Hamiltons, p. 324.

he refused. On another hand he was advised to embark and retire to the isle of Jersey, where the facility afforded him of passing over to the continent would force all parties to deal gently with him. But he still depended on the secret promises and good will of the officers; he hoped their coldness was only forced and apparent, that they would subdue the agitators at the next meeting of the army, re-establish discipline, and renew their negotiations with him. He would not leave England before this last trial[z]. Yet the idea of flight became daily more familiar and more urgent to him; he was told that a German prophet had appeared in the council of agitators, announcing that he was charged to reveal the will of heaven; but that at the mere mention of a reconciliation with the king, they had refused to hear him. By every means he could, Cromwell insinuated that flight was necessary. Some one, it is not known whom, spoke to the king of the Isle of Wight, as his best and safest refuge; it was near to the mainland, the inhabitants were all royalists; and colonel Hammond, the nephew of one of the king's most faithful chaplains, had lately been appointed its governor. Charles listened with more attention to this suggestion than to any other, collected what information he could, and even made some pre-

[z] Berkley, Memoirs, p. 197; Warwick, Memoirs, p. 260-262; Burnet, Memoirs of the Hamiltons, p. 326; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 243, 244.

parations[a]. He still hesitated, and sought on all sides something which might determine his course. There dwelt at this time in London, a famous astrologer, named William Lilly; he was inclined to the popular party, but had never refused his predictions and advice to any one. The king commissioned a woman, Mrs. Whorewood, to consult him in his name on the place to which it would be best that he should flee; and out of a thousand pounds which had just been sent him by alderman Adams, a devoted royalist, Mrs. Whorewood received five hundred for her mission. Having solemnly consulted the stars, Lilly answered, that the king should retire to the east, into Essex, twenty miles from London; and Mrs. Whorewood hastened to take his answer to Hampton Court[b]. Charles however had not

[a] This is evidently what may be concluded from an account of the king's sojourn in the Isle of Wight, addressed after the restoration, to Charles II. by Sir John Bowering, a man otherwise obscure, but who was at that time employed in the secret manœuvres of Charles I. I wonder this little work, in which there are, it is true, many errors, and which is evidently written by a man solely occupied with the wish of making the most of himself, but which yet contains curious and characteristic details, should have escaped the attention of English historians; Mr. Godwin is, to my knowledge, the only one who has mentioned it; it was taken from lord Halifax's papers, and is published in one volume 12mo., entitled, Miscellanies Historical and Philological, p. 78-162, published in London, 1703. See also Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 951; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 234; Berkley, Memoirs, p. 194, etc.; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 244.

[b] History of the Life and Times of William Lilly, second edit., Lond. 1715, p. 60; Biographia Britannica, article Lilly (William), vol. v. p. 2966.

waited for it; on the 9th of November, an anonymous letter, written as he thought by a sincere friend, had warned him that he was in imminent danger; that the night before, the agitators had resolved, in a nocturnal meeting, to make away with him, and that everything was to be dreaded if he did not immediately place himself out of their reach[c]. Another counsel was, to beware of the guard which would be placed the next day in the castle[d]. Struck with dismay, Charles took a sudden resolution; on the 11th of November, at nine in the evening, leaving several letters on the table, and only followed by his valet, William Legg, he descended a back staircase and left the castle by a private door, which opened into the park near the forest, where Ashburnham and Berkley, who had been informed of his intentions, were waiting for him with horses ready to depart. They directed their course to the south-west; the night was dark and stormy; the king alone was acquainted with the forest, and served as a guide to his companions; they lost their way, and did not reach till day-break the little town of Sutton, in Hampshire, where, by the care of Ashburnham, fresh horses were prepared for them. At the hostelry where he was waiting for them, a committee of parliamentarians had already assembled, and were deliberating on the affairs of the country. They

[c] Old Parl. Hist., vol. xvi. p. 328; Clarendon, State Papers, vol. ii. Appendix, p. xli.

[d] Berkley, Memoirs, p. 201.

set off again immediately, and took the road to Southampton, yet without the king's expressly declaring to what place he would go. When they had reached a little eminence near the town, Charles said, "Let us alight for awhile, and consult on what it will be best to do." It is said that they first talked of a vessel of which Ashburnham was to have made sure, but of which they had heard no news; then of going into the west, where Berkley promised him the support of many friends; and at last of going to the Isle of Wight, a more prudent resolution than either of the others, which would put an end to the perplexities of their situation, and which, by the road they had taken, was evidently what the king had intended when they came away. But the governor was not apprised, and could he be trusted without security? It was agreed that Ashburnham and Berkley should go to the Isle of Wight, ascertain how Hammond was affected, and acquaint him with the mark of confidence he was on the point of receiving, and that the king should wait their return at Tichfield, a few miles distant, at the mansion of lord Southampton's mother. They parted, and the next morning the two cavaliers landed in the island, and went directly to Carisbrook castle, the residence of the governor. He was gone to Newport, but was expected home the same day. Ashburnham and Berkley went to meet him, and they immediately and without preamble informed him of the purport of their coming. Hammond turned

pale, the reins fell from his hands, his whole body trembled: "Gentlemen, gentlemen," said he, "you have ruined me by bringing the king into this island; if he is not yet landed, I conjure you to prevent his coming; what would become of me between the duty I should owe the king after such a mark of confidence and that I owe the army from whom I hold my present office?" They endeavoured to calm him; sometimes reminding him of the immense service he would render the king, and of the engagements which the army itself had contracted with his majesty, sometimes assuring him that if he did not think the same of it as themselves, the king was far from wishing that he should receive him against his will. Yet Hammond still continued to grieve. But when in their turn the two cavaliers appeared mistrustful, and on the point of withdrawing their proposal, he showed less indecision, inquired where the king was, if he was in no danger, and even showed some regret that he had not at once suddenly and entirely committed himself to him. The conversation was thus carried on for a long time, on both sides with much anxiety and deceit, both parties fearing alike to break it off or to commit themselves. At length Hammond seemed to yield: "The king," he said, "shall have no reason to complain of me; it shall not be said that I disappointed his expectations; I will act as a man of honour; let us go together and inform him of it." Berkley was alarmed by this proposal, and wished to op-

pose it; but Ashburnham accepted it, and they immediately set out together, Hammond being accompanied by only one of his captains, named Basket. A boat took them across in a few hours to Tichfield, and when they arrived Ashburnham alone went up to the king, leaving Berkley, Hammond, and Basket, in the court of the castle. When the king heard Ashburnham's account, he exclaimed, "Oh John! John! thou hast undone me by bringing this governor here; dost thou not perceive that I cannot move an inch?" In vain Ashburnham urged the good feelings Hammond had expressed, the promises he had made, and even his hesitation as a proof of his sincerity. The king, in a paroxysm of sorrow, walked hastily backward and forward, sometimes with his arms folded across his breast, sometimes raising his hands and eyes to heaven with an expression of the deepest anguish; at last, Ashburnham, who was also greatly moved, said, "Sire, colonel Hammond is here with only one man, nothing is so easy as to make sure of him." "What," replied the king, "would you kill him? would you have it said that he hazarded his life for me and that I villanously deprived him of it? no, no, it is too late to take any other measure; I must trust to the will of God." In the mean time, Hammond and Basket grew impatient with waiting; Berkley informed the king of it; they came up. Charles received them with an open and confiding air; Hammond renewed his promises more fully than he had done before, but

they were still vague and embarrassed. The day was declining; they embarked. The report that the king was coming had already spread over the island; many of the inhabitants came to meet him; as he passed through the streets of Newport a young woman advanced towards him and presented him with a red rose, which had blown notwithstanding the severity of the season, and prayed aloud for his deliverance. He was assured that the whole population was devoted to him, that even at Carisbrook castle the whole of the garrison consisted of twelve well disposed old soldiers, and that he might at any time he pleased easily escape. Charles's terrors were gradually dispelled; and the next morning when he arose and contemplated from the window the beautiful view which the sea and land present from that spot, when he breathed the pure morning air, when he saw in Hammond every demonstration of respect, and heard him promise him full liberty to ride to any part of the island, to keep his servants, and receive whom he pleased, he became repossessed with a feeling of security. "After all," he said to Ashburnham, "the governor is a man of honour; I am out of reach of the agitators, and hope I shall only have to congratulate myself on the resolution I have taken[e]."

[e] Berkley, Memoirs, p. 194-210; Herbert, Memoirs, p. 38; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 244; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. ix. p. 3-17.

HISTORY OF

THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES I.

BOOK THE EIGHTH.

1647—1649.

The commissioners of parliament and the officers of the garrison at Hampton Court waited a long time for the king to appear at the supper table at his accustomed time: at length, astonished at not seeing him, they went into his room, and only found three letters in his own hand writing, addressed one to lord Montague, the other to colonel Whalley, and the third to the speaker of the house of lords. To the latter the king gave as his motive for flight the plots of the agitators and his right to be free and in safety as well as any private individual. The only purport of the two others was to express to Montague and Whalley his satisfaction at their behaviour, and to direct them in what manner to dispose of his horses, his dogs, his pictures, and all the furniture of his apartment. Nothing in them gave the least clue as to the road he

had taken, nor the place to which he intended to retire [a].

Great was the consternation in Westminster, and so much the greater as with the news from Hampton Court, came a letter from Windsor, written at midnight, by Cromwell, who hastened also to inform the parliament of the king's escape [b]. He then must have known of it before any one else, before the parliament, nay, perhaps before the king's departure; for a report became current that on the 11th, the guard at Hampton Court had not been kept so closely as usual, and that some of the sentinels had even been withdrawn from the posts they usually occupied [c]. Letters also were soon after received from Hammond, informing the house [d], of the king's arrival, containing protestations of his devotion to their service, and requesting their instructions. This however did not dispel their alarm; Cromwell also received letters from Hammond, as if all the servants of parliament thought themselves obliged to give him information, and consult him on every occasion: and he spoke of it to the house with a gaiety which astonished the least suspicious [e]. It was, in fact, an alarming sympton of some success, or some expectation which it was in vain to attempt to fathom.

[a] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 786 etc.
[b] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 871.
[c] Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 250.
[d] From November 13th, 1647; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 789.
[e] Clarendon. Hist. of the Rebell., vol. ix. p. 18.

Two days had scarcely elapsed before he gave new and far greater cause of alarm to his enemies. It was on November 15th, that the first of the three appointed meetings of the army, which were to put an end to its dissensions, was to be held at Ware. Cromwell, attended with Fairfax and all those officers on whom he could most depend. Only seven regiments had been summoned to this meeting, and they were such as had taken the least part in the agitation of affairs, and whom it seemed most easy to reduce to a more rigid discipline. It was hoped that their subjection would intimidate, or their example, calm the most refractory. But when they arrived on the common at Ware, the generals found nine regiments instead of seven; Harrison's regiment of cavalry, and Robert Lilburne's of infantry had come without orders, and in a state of most violent excitement. The latter had driven away all their officers above the degree of lieutenant, with the exception of captain Bray their commander; every soldier wore a copy of 'the Agreement of the People, etc.' attached to his hat, with this inscription: "The Liberty of England, the rights of the soldiers." From time to time, as if suddenly excited by a common feeling, their shouts echoed over the plain. Ewers, Rainsborough, Scott, and John Lilburne himself, who had lately received permission from the commons to leave the Tower every morning for the benefit of his health, galloped over the plain, riding from troop to

troop, encouraging the most animated, calling the moderate cowards, and repeating everywhere that since the sword was in their hands, they were in duty bound to use it, to assert fully and for ever the liberty of their country. In the midst of this tumult, Fairfax, Cromwell, and their staff officers advanced towards the peaceable regiments; they read to them in the name of the general council of officers, a calm and firm remonstrance, reproaching the new agitators with their seditious proceedings, and the dangers they brought upon the army; recalling the proofs of fidelity and affection which their chiefs had given them, the success they had obtained under their command, and promising to support in parliament the just demands of the soldiers, whether for themselves or their country, if on their side they would sign an engagement to return to the rules of discipline, and henceforward obey the commands of their officers. Seven regiments received this address with joyful acclamations. Fairfax advanced towards that of Harrison. The horsemen had no sooner heard his voice and the promises he held forth to them, than they tore the copy of the pamphlet from their hats, and exclaimed that they had been deceived, and would live and die with their general. Lilburne's regiment alone remained rebellious and violently excited, they even began to answer Fairfax by seditious shouts; Cromwell advanced: "Take that paper from your hats," he cried to the soldiers; the soldiers refused;

he entered suddenly among their ranks, and caused fourteen of the most mutinous to be arrested: a court-martial was assembled on the spot, and three of the soldiers were condemned to death; the council commanded that they should draw lots, and that one of them should be shot immediately. The lot fell upon Richard Arnell, a wild agitator; the execution took place immediately, in front of his regiment: the two others with their eleven companions were marched away. Major Scott and captain Bray were put under arrest; a deep silence reigned over the field, and each division returned to its quarters; the two other meetings passed over without the slightest murmur, and the whole army appeared to be brought under the command of its chiefs [f].

Cromwell however did not deceive himself respecting the uncertainty, and even the danger of a triumph like this: when he gave an account of it to the commons [g], in the midst of the thanks, which a majority, delighted with the defeat of the agitators, voted him, the presbyterian leaders did not conceal their coldness, nor the republicans their displeasure: to the first, any success of Cromwell's was a doubtful good, whatever apparent effect; the latter regarded

[f] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 875; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 791. Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. ix. p. 19; Mazeres, Select Tracts relating to the civil wars in England, etc., part 1, preface p. 33-73; Godwin, Hist. of the Commonwealth, vol. ii. p. 462-468.

[g] November 19th, 1647; Whitelocke, p. 280.

his conduct at the meeting at Ware, as another proof of his betrayal of the good cause. Ludlow opposed the vote of thanks[h] in the house; the preacher, Saltmarsh, came up from the country, as he said, by an express command of God, to tell the generals that the Lord had forsaken them, since they had put his saints in prison[i]; in short, after the first few moments of surprise, a crowd of officers, subalterns, and soldiers, nearly all the revolutionary leaders of the army plainly declared to Cromwell and Ireton; that nothing should turn them from their designs; that they were resolved to get rid of the king, and establish a commonwealth; that at the risk of losing all, they would divide the army, two-thirds of which would follow them, and carry on the undertaking alone, rather than that it should fail. Cromwell knew better than to reduce them to this extremity; his view was to stay by one severe example, the progress of anarchy in the army; but he knew the power of the fanatics and was already disposed to a reconciliation with them. Without declaring himself for a republic, he spoke bitterly against the king to all those who visited him, acknowledged that they were in the right to expect nothing from him, owned that for himself the vanities of this world had dazzled him for a moment, that he had not been able to discern clearly the will of

[h] Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 253.
[i] Whitelocke, p. 286.

the Lord, nor trust entirely to his saints; he humbled himself before them, and begged the help of their prayers for his pardon with God. The most popular preachers, among others Hugh Peters, an intriguing and talkative enthusiast, undertook to spread abroad his confessions and protestations. Cromwell even sent comforting assurances to the soldiers in prison. Merely representing to them, but that in the firmest tone, the necessity of maintaining union and discipline in the army, the only means of success, or even of safety[k]. Many believed his words, which were always impassioned and powerful; others, not so blind, felt how much they needed his talents, and though they suspected the sincerity of his repentance, could not go so far as to repulse it. Most of them, were obliged to confess that the agitators had carried their feelings too far, and had been too hasty, that the soldiers owed more submission and respect to their officers. Rainsborough, Scott, and Ewers, owned themselves in the wrong, and promised to act with more prudence for the time to come. A great meeting at last took place at head-quarters[l]; officers, agitators, and preachers, passed ten hours together in talking and praying; their common interests, without abating their differences and mistrust, for the time prevailed; it was agreed that the prisoners should be set at

[k] Berkley, Memoirs, p. 215-217.

[l] December 22nd, 1647.

liberty, that captain Bray should be restored to his regiment, and that a petition should be sent to parliament that the office of vice-admiral which had been taken from Rainsborough, should be again given to him[m]; this reconciliation, of which the king's ruin was the price, was celebrated by a stately banquet[n].

While these things were taking place, Sir John Berkley, whom Charles, upon being informed of what had taken place at Ware, had hastened to send to the generals, to congratulate them on their victory and to remind them of their promises, arrived at head-quarters[o]. Berkley, although, besides the letters from the king, he had brought others from Hammond to Fairfax, Ireton, and Cromwell, was not without uneasiness; on his road he had met with Joyce, who, astonished at his confidence, told him that the agitators, so far from fearing any thing, had drawn over the generals, and were preparing to bring the king to trial. When he arrived at Windsor, the council of officers were assembled, and he went directly to them, and presented his letters to the general. He was commanded to retire immediately. Half an hour after, he was recalled, when Fairfax, addressing him, sternly said: "We are the parliament's army; we have

[m] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 943; Clarendon, State Papers, vol. ii. Appendix, p. xliv; Whitelocke, p. 286; Huntingdon, Memoirs, p. 328.

[n] January 9th, 1648; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 959.

[o] In the latter end of November.

no answer to give to the proposals of his majesty; the parliament alone can judge of them." Berkley looked at Ireton and then at Cromwell; they scarcely bowed their heads to him, and looked upon him with a smile of contempt. He withdrew, speechless with astonishment: the day passed without his being able to obtain any news or explanation; at length, towards evening, Watson, the officer with whom he was most intimate, sent him word to be at midnight in a certain paddock behind the Garter inn, where he would come and meet him. From him Berkley learned what had taken place, and with what spirits the army were carried away. "It is such," he said, "that I hazard my life in coming here; for even this very afternoon, Ireton has made two proposals; one, to send you prisoner to London, the other, to forbid any one to speak to you under pain of death. Let the king, if he loves his life, fly without delay, if he has the means to do so." "Do you advise me," said Berkley, "to send to Cromwell and Ireton the letters which the king has given me for them?" "By all means; otherwise they would discover that I have revealed their designs to you[p]."

As Watson had foreseen, Berkley obtained neither interview nor answer from the generals. Cromwell alone sent word to him that he would do his best to serve the king, but that he must not expect that he should ruin himself for his

[p] Berkley, Memoirs, p. 212-217.

sake. Sir John hastened to send this melancholy news to the king, conjuring him at the same time not to lose an instant, but to abscond as soon as possible. Charles would perhaps have succeeded in doing so; for it was said, a vessel sent by the queen was cruising near the island [q]. But a fresh intrigue had reanimated the king's hopes: after a warm debate in the commons [r], the house had just voted that four proposals should be presented to him in the form of bills; and that if he accepted them, he should be allowed, as he had requested so many times to do, to treat in person with the parliament. These proposals were, first, that the command of the military and naval forces should remain for twenty years with the house, with the right of retaining it after that time if the safety of the kingdom should seem to require it; secondly, that the king should recall all his declarations, proclamations, and other acts, which he had published against the house, accusing it of illegality and rebellion; thirdly, that he should annul all the patents of peerage which he had granted since he left London; fourthly, that he should bestow on the two houses the privilege of adjourning for whatever time and to whatever place they should think proper. Charles, not-

[q] Berkley, Memoirs, p. 217, 218.

[r] December 14th, 1647; the motion took place in the house of lords on the 26th of November, and the commons adopted it on the 27th, by a majority of one hundred and fifteen voices against one hundred and six. Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 803, 804, 823, 824.

withstanding his distress, had no intention to sanction these bills, and by so doing acknowledge the legitimacy of the war which had reduced him to it; but he knew that the Scottish commissioners had strongly opposed these proposals; that they had even manifested a bitter resentment of the little account in which the house held their remonstrances[s]: he had received from them, at the same time that he received Berkley's letters, a secret invitation to oppose these offensive measures, with the promise that they would come and treat with him, in the name of Scotland, on far better conditions. He said to Berkley, when he arrived: "I must wait; I will settle with the Scots before I leave the kingdom; if they saw me out of the hands of the army they would raise their demands[t]."

Accordingly, the lords Lauderdale, Lowden, and Lanark, arrived at Carisbrook castle, nearly at the same time with lord Denbigh and his five colleagues[u], the commissioners from Westminster. The negotiations which had already been opened at Hampton Court, were now renewed with great secrecy between them and the king, as the only ostensible motive of their coming was to protest against the proposals of parliament. In two days the treaty was concluded,

[s] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 825, 826.

[t] Berkley, Memoirs, p. 218-223.

[u] December 23rd, 1647; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 824, 827; Bowring, p. 87.

drawn up, signed[x], and hidden in a garden in the island until it could be taken away in safety. It promised the king the intervention of a Scottish army to re-establish him in the possession of his just rights, under condition that he should sanction presbyterianism for three years in England, and that at the end of that term the assembly of divines should be consulted, and he would definitively regulate the constitution of the church. Several stipulations to the advantage of the Scots, but which would have been highly offensive to the honour of the English nation, accompanied this general concession. It was also agreed that besides the support of the Scottish army the cavaliers all over the kingdom should take arms; that Ormond should go and reassume the command of the royalist party in Ireland, and finally, that the king, as soon as he should have refused the proposals, should escape from the island and flee to the frontiers of Scotland, to Berwick, or some other place, and wait in liberty for the moment of action[y].

Everything being thus settled, Charles sent word to the parliamentary commissioners that he was ready to give them his answer[a]. He had resolved to do as he had done three years before in the negotiations at Oxford, to give his answer to them sealed, fearing, that if they knew

[x] December 26th.

[y] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 43-56; Burnet, Memoirs of the Hamiltons, p. 325-334.

[a] December 27th.

of his refusal, perhaps even his projects, they might take measures that would undo the whole. But lord Denbigh obstinately refused to receive the king's message in this form. "The parliament," he said, "has charged us to bring back, not any thing which it would please your majesty to give us, but either the adoption or rejection of these four bills." Charles was obliged to comply, and the message was read aloud. In it he entirely rejected the proposals, and requested to treat personally with parliament without being obliged to accept any thing beforehand. The commissioners withdrew; they held a short conference with Hammond, and returned to Westminster. A few hours after their departure, while the king was talking with Ashburnham and Berkley of the means of escape which they had prepared for that night, the gates of the castle were closed, the entrance forbidden to any stranger, the guards everywhere doubled, and almost all the king's servants, Ashburnham and Berkley for the first, received orders to leave the island immediately[b]. The vexation and anger of the king was very great; he sent for Hammond: "Why," said he, "am I treated thus? Where are your orders? What has taken possession of you?" Hammond, who had no positive orders, was silent, and hesitated; at last he spoke of the answer his majesty had just

[b] Berkley, Memoirs, p. 225-230; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 828-830; Bowring, p. 92-94; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 22-27.

made to the proposals of parliament. "Did not you promise, upon your honour," said the king, "that in no case you would take any advantage over me." Hammond. "I promised nothing." The king. "You are full of subtlety and subterfuge; will you allow me to see one of my chaplains? You hold, you say, with liberty of conscience; shall I have none?" Hammond. "I cannot let you have a chaplain." The king. "You neither treat me as a gentleman nor as a christian." Hammond. "I will speak to you when you are more calm." The king. "I slept very well last night." Hammond. "I have behaved very civilly towards you." The king. "Why do you not do so now?" Hammond. "Sir, you are too high." The king. "That could only be the fault of my shoemaker, and I do not see that he has heightened the heels of my shoes." This he repeated several times as he walked the room, then returning towards Hammond, he said: "Am I at liberty to go out for air?" Hammond. "No, I cannot grant it." The king. "You cannot grant it! am I then in a prison? is this the faith you owe me? are these your oaths? Answer." Hammond hastily left the room; much agitated, and with tears in his eyes; yet he changed in nothing the arrangements that had been made[c].

In the mean time the commissioners from

[c] Clarendon, State Papers, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 45; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 959, 960; Whitelocke, p. 288.

parliament arrived at Westminster: as soon as they had given an account of their journey, a member till then unknown, Sir Thomas Wroth, rose in the house of commons, and said[d]: "Mr. Speaker, Bedlam was prepared for madmen, and Tophet[e] for kings; our king has till now behaved as if Bedlam were the fittest place for him; I humbly request that the house should no longer address him, but proceed to settle the affairs of the public without consulting him. I care not what form of government is established, provided there be neither devils nor kings in it." Ireton immediately supported the motion. "The

[d] January 3rd, 1648.

[e] That is to say, 'Hell.' Tophet is a Hebrew word, which in its general acceptation means, an abominable thing, a thing to be execrated (the radical word signifies, 'to spit with disgust',) and as a proper name, it designates a place in the vale of Ben Hinnom 'the valley of the sons of lamentation,' where sacrifices had long been offered to Moloch, and where the statues of the heathen gods were thrown when their altars were demolished on the heights of Jerusalem, and which afterwards became a sort of receptacle for all the filth and impurities of the town, and the bodies of criminals were burnt there. It is in this sense that the prophet Isaiah, threatening the ruin of Sennacherib and all his army, says, (chap. xxx. ver. 33,) *For Tophet is ordained of old; yea, for the king it is prepared, etc.* Yet some ancient divines, St. Jerome among others, and the Chaldean paraphrast, simply understood by this word, 'hell;' and following their example, Calvin, and the theologians of his school, have given no other acceptation to this word. It is in this sense that it is employed in the English version of the Bible, and that it is used by Milton (Par Lost, book i. lines 392, 493-485)' and the writers of his time; and Sir Thomas Wroth alluded to this passage in Isaiah, which was at that time, as well as all other scripture texts, present to the memory of his auditory.

I am indebted for this explanation to Mr. Stapfer, one of the most learned protestant divines of our time.

king," he said, "by refusing the four bills, has refused safety and protection to his people; it is only in return for protection that we owe him obedience; and since he withdraws his protection we are at liberty to withdraw our obedience, and to govern the state without him." Surprised by so bold an attack, irritated themselves by the king's refusal, the presbyterians appeared for awhile timid and perplexed. Several members, however, spoke against the measure: "To adopt it," said Maynard, "is, as far as it is in our power to do so, to dissolve the parliament; when kings have refused to receive the petitions, or listen to the addresses of the house, such acts have always been considered as the most flagrant violation of their privileges; it was, in fact, dissolving parliament without pronouncing its dissolution: and if we say that henceforward we will receive no message from the king, nor address any to him, what do we do but declare that we are no longer a parliament?" The discussion was prolonged, and grew warm; the presbyterians regained confidence; the house, which at first was but ill disposed in their favour, seemed wavering; Cromwell rose: "Mr. Speaker," said he, "the king is a man of great sense, of great talents, but so full of dissimulation, so false, that there is no possibility of trusting him. While he protests his love for peace, he is treating underhand with the Scottish commissioners, to plunge the nation into another war. The hour is come for the parliament to

govern alone, and save the kingdom; the men who, at the price of their blood, have defended you from so many perils, will again defend you with the same courage, the same fidelity. Do not, therefore, in neglecting to watch over your own safety, and that of the kingdom, which is also theirs, give them occasion to believe that they are betrayed, and given up to the fury of the enemy whom they have conquered for you; beware, lest despair drive them to seek their safety by forsaking you, you who would thus forsake yourselves. How fatal such a resolution on their part would be, I tremble to say, and shall leave you to judge;" and he sat down with his hand on his sword hilt. Not a voice was heard after his; the motion was immediately adopted[f], and sent the next morning to the upper house[g]. At first, the lords appeared to hesitate; the debate was prolonged[h]: two declarations came from the army[i]; one addressed to the commons, full of congratulations, and threats against their enemies; the other to the lords, gentle, fawning in its style, contradicting the reports spread abroad respecting the danger of the peerage, and promising to support it in all its rights. Cowards could as they pleased show their fears or pretend that they were dispelled;

[f] By one hundred and forty-one voices against ninety-two.

[g] January 4th, 1648.

[h] It was put off first from the 4th to the 8th, then from the 8th to the 13th.

[i] January 11th; they are dated the 9th.

the discussion was no longer procrastinated, and when the question was put [k], only the lords Warwick and Manchester protested against it [l].

As a counterbalance to this, a warm and fearful remonstrance came from all parts of the kingdom. "Now," cried the cavaliers, "we see fulfilled those accusations and predictions which have so often been treated as chimeras or calumnies;" and on all sides, crowds of those who lately knew not what to think, joined them in denouncing this execrable treason. Before there was time for the king to answer the declarations of parliament, several answers appeared, dictated by the spontaneous zeal of private citizens [m]. Never before had there been so many reports of royalist plots, never had so many and such violent pamphlets swarmed about Westminster [n]. Even in the Isle of Wight, captain Burley, a retired officer of the navy, had the drum beaten through the streets of Newport, and, gathering together a crowd of labourers, women, and children, put himself at their head to go and release the king from his prison. The attempt was immediately frustrated, and Burley hanged as

[k] January 15th, 1648.

[l] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 830-837; Clement Walker, History of Independency, p. 69-71, (small 4to edit. London, 1648); Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 27-33.

[m] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 33.

[n] Rushworth, part 4, p. 929, 974, 1002; particularly two pamphlets entitled 'The Parliament's Ten Commandments,' and 'The New Testament of our Lords and Saviours the House of Commons sitting at Westminster,' caused great excitement.

guilty of having made war against the king and parliament[o]. But the same dispositions, the same wishes, spread even over those counties which, but a short time before, had been disaffected to the royal cause; even about the very doors of parliament, some of Essex's disbanded officers walked tumultuously, crying: "God save the king!" stopping the coaches, and forcing those within to join them in drinking his health[p]. The republicans were much vexed to see themselves thus thwarted at the moment of victory: in vain they obtained addresses of congratulation[q] from a few counties; in vain the commons proclaimed their design of reforming the civil code, and of rendering the administration of justice less expensive; in vain, they even suspended their own privileges as regarded debts and prosecutions[r]. These important ameliorations were only cared for and appreciated by the party itself, or a few superior minds: some of them wounded the prejudices of the people, others were not understood by the ignorant, and the interested motive which seemed to dictate them entirely destroyed their effect. The republicans, therefore, by their want of popularity, were driven to the exercise of tyranny. Proceedings against

[o] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 25; Berkley, Memoirs, p. 229.

[p] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 804.

[q] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 973.

[r] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 830; January 4th, 1648; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 985.

the members of both houses, and against those magistrates in the city who were supposed to have been the authors or the fomenters of presbyterian or royalist riots, were eagerly carried on[s]: all who had borne arms against parliament received orders to leave London, and were forbidden to reside within twenty miles of its walls[t]; a general change of the justices of peace throughout the kingdom was prescribed, by which all whose principles were suspected would be put out of the commission[u]; it was enacted that no delinquent, no person who had taken any part, or was accused of having taken a part in any plot against the parliament, should be elected lord mayor, alderman, or member of the common council of the city, nor even vote at the election of these magistrates[x]; the same interdiction was shortly after extended to jurymen and to those who had votes for members of parliament[y]. The committee appointed to repress the licentiousness of the press received orders to sit every day, and a sum was put at their disposal[z], to reward those who should discover and seize the presses of the malignants. Finally, the army was once more marched through London,

[s] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 922; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 838-842.

[t] December 17th, 1647; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 933.

[u] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 920.

[x] December 17th; ibid., p. 934.

[y] Ibid., p. 1252.

[z] January 6th, 1648; ibid., p. 957.

in all the pomp of war, and three thousand men were detached from it and quartered within the walls about Whitehall and the Tower[a].

Fanatics, the narrow-minded and severe, and the mob of the party, congratulated themselves on these measures, which increased their zeal and were open manifestations of their strength. Cromwell, alone, though he took part in them, felt uneasy as to the result; not through any scruple, nor that he hesitated at the performance of any thing which might lead him to success; but in spite of his resolutions against the king, the expectations and intentions of the republicans and enthusiasts appeared to him unreasonable and extravagant; wherever he turned his eyes, in every part of the country, land proprietors, the principal freeholders, the most respectable citizens, in short, almost all persons of any rank or character, retiring from public affairs, forsaking the committees of management, and local magistracies and power everywhere passing into the hands of people of an inferior station, ardent to seize it, capable of using it with vigour, but not at all likely to retain it[b]. He could not believe that England would long permit herself to be thus governed, or that any permanent government could be founded on the legal oppression of so many respectable citizens;

[a] Journals of the House of Commons, January 27th, 1648; Clement Walker, Hist. of Independency, p. 79.

[b] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 35; Hollis, Memoirs, p. 5; Mrs. Hutchinson, Memoirs, vol. ii.

he foresaw very plainly that the discord and anarchy which daily increased in parliament and under its sway, would end in overturning the power even of the ruling party. He racked his indefatigable imagination in order to find out some means of putting an end to this unsettled state, or at least of discovering in this dark chaos the quickest and safest road by which his ambition might ascend to greatness. Having invited the principal independents and presbyterians, clergy as well as laity, to a grand dinner, he dwelt with great earnestness upon the necessity of concord, or, at least, of suspending their quarrels, in order to combat together the new dangers which it was easy to see threatened them. But the temper of the presbyterians was too hasty, and their theological opinions too narrow and exclusive to allow them to enter into such combinations. The conference was without result. Cromwell found means to open another between a few political leaders, most of whom were general officers like himself, and republicans. It was necessary, he said, that they should canvass over together what government was best suited to England, as it was now their duty to establish one; his object, however, in reality, was to discover which among them might be managed, and what he had to expect or fear from them. Ludlow, Vane, Hutchinson, Sidney, and Haslerig, loudly declared their opinions, opposing all idea of a monarchy as being condemned by the word of God, by reason, and ex-

perience. The generals were more reserved; a republic, they said, was desirable, but the success of it uncertain; it was better not to form any resolution, but to watch the public mind, to consider the necessities of the times, and daily obey the directions of providence. The republicans insisted upon an open declaration. The discussion grew warm; Ludlow, among others, pushed Cromwell hard to declare his opinion; they were determined, he said, to know who were their friends. Cromwell still evaded by jokes any decisive answer; being, at last, pressed more and more, he got rid of the question by running to the door of the room and flinging a cushion at Ludlow's head, who sent it back with some degree of violence[c].

The danger, however, daily increased; the number and boldness of the malecontents became greater every day: not only in the west and north, but even in the neighbourhood of London, in Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, and Kent, at the table of some rich gentleman, at the assizes, at the markets, in every place where the cavaliers could meet and mix with the people, royalist plots, petitions, and insurrections, were fomented and openly announced. At Canterbury, on Christmas day, the mayor, having endeavoured to enforce the ordinance which suppressed that festival, a violent tumult arose, the people crying out, "For God, king Charles, and

[c] Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 270-275.

the county of Kent!" The arsenal was broken open, several dwellings of the parliamentarians were attacked, and the municipal officers very roughly handled; indeed, had not a few troops arrived, and put down the fray, the peasants of the neighbourhood would soon have joined the mob, and taken part in it[d]. In London, a few apprentices being playing on a Sunday[e] at bowls in Moorfields, during church time, some soldiers endeavoured to drive them away; but they resisted, and dispersed the militia; being routed in their turn by a detachment of cavalry, they spread all over the city, calling their companions and the watermen of the Thames to their assistance; numerous bands assembled in all quarters; they met in the night, took two of the gates of the city by surprise, fastened chains across the streets, and with drums beating, and shouts of "God and king Charles," attacked the house of the lord mayor, seized a cannon, then a magazine of arms, and at dawn of day seemed completely masters of the city. A council of war had sat all night; they hesitated to attack the rebels; they questioned whether the two regiments quartered in London would be sufficient, whether it would not be best to wait for reinforcements. Fairfax and Cromwell strongly recommended an immediate attack: success was not for a moment doubtful; in two hours nothing was to be heard

[d] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 948; Whitelocke, p. 286; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 77.

[e] April 9th, 1648.

in the streets but the regular step of the troops returning to their quarters[f]. But though the people had fled they were not conquered; every day some unexpected event occurred which aroused their anger or reanimated their courage: the presbyterian members and the aldermen of the city who had been impeached by the commons, when brought to the bar of the upper house, obstinately refused either to acknowledge its jurisdiction, to kneel at the bar, to take off their hats, or listen to the charges that were brought against them; and every time they were taken to Westminster, the multitude, as they passed and repassed, greeted them with transport[g]. The people were forbidden to assemble; the committees of management, in all the counties, were empowered to arrest and commit to prison all ill-affected persons, or even any one, merely suspected of being so[h]; still the general commotion increased more rapidly than their tyranny: at Norwich, Bury St. Edmunds, Thetford, Stowmarket, and a number of other places, the drum beat, the inhabitants flew to arms, upon the slightest pretext, and these riots were not always put down by the mere parade or threats of the military[i]. They had soon more

[f] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1051; Whitelocke, p. 298; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 875.

[g] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 844, 874, 877, 880, 881.

[h] April 18th, 1648; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1062; Whitelocke, p. 300.

[i] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1071, 1119; Whitelocke, p. 302,

to dread than citizens and mobs. In the south of Wales, in Pembrokeshire, colonels Payer and Powel, and major-general Langhorn, all officers who had risen to distinction in the parliamentary army, now forsook it[k], raised the royal standard, and, supported by those cavaliers who had rebelled, subdued the whole country in a few days to their power. About the same time the Scottish parliament met[l]. Hamilton and the royalists, who had concealed themselves under an alliance of the moderate presbyterians, prevailed in the elections; Argyle and the most violent of the clergy, had in vain endeavoured to throw obstacles in the way of their proceedings; as vainly had commissioners who had been sent from London, profusely distributed threats and money in Edinburgh: they were circumspect and even humble in their language to the fanatics, but decidedly favourable to the king; and the parliament immediately voted[m] that a committee should be formed to manage the affairs of the kingdom, and an army of forty thousand men levied to defend royalty and the covenant against the republicans and sectarians[n]. The

305; Journals of the House of Lords, May 19th; Journals of the House of Commons, June 12th.

[k] Towards the end of February, 1648; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1016, 1017, 1033, 1034, 1036; Whitelocke, p. 294; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 112; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 279, 291.

[l] March 2nd, 1648.

[m] May 3rd, 1648.

[n] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 78-83; Baillie,

cavaliers in the north of England only awaited this signal to declare themselves. For more than a month their principal leaders, Langdale, Glenham, and Musgrave, had been living in Edinburgh, sometimes openly and sometimes in secret, concerting with Hamilton their plan of insurrection [o]. In Ireland, lord Inchiquin, lord-lieutenant of the province of Munster, who had hitherto been one of the surest supporters of parliament against the insurgents, now ranged himself under the king's standard [p]. In short, upon all this news being brought to London, the presbyterians, both in parliament and in the city, began to take courage, and but thinly covered their hopes by a parade of their fears.

A certain man named Everard, came and made oath to the common council [q] that two nights before, he had heard in a room adjoining that in which he slept at the Garter at Windsor, several officers, and among others, quarter-master-general Grosvenor and Ewers, mutually declare, that the moment the Scots entered the kingdom the army should take possession of the city, disarm the citizens, and demand a contribution of one million sterling, under pain of pillage; and

Letters, vol. ii. p. 281, 285, 286; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1040, 1047; Malcolm Laing, Hist. of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 394-400.

[o] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 83-89.

[p] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1060, 1063; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 296; Carte, Life of Ormond, vol. ii. p. 23; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p 36-40, 211, etc.

[q] April 23rd, 1648.

would send, moreover, at their expense, all persons who should be willing to enlist into their regiments. Everard further stated, that Ireton was acquainted with this design [r]. Upon this a petition was forthwith drawn up and presented to the house [s]; in it the common council prayed that the city should again be put in possession of its chains, which had been taken from it ever since the late riot, that the army should remove further from London, and that all the forces in the town and suburbs should be placed under the command of Skippon. These requests were immediately granted; and the next day, the 28th of April, after a debate of which no record exists, the commons voted, first, that they would not change the fundamental government of the nation by a king, lords, and commons; secondly, that the proposals made to the king at Hampton Court should be made the foundation of all measures which it might be necessary to adopt to re-establish public peace; thirdly, that notwithstanding the vote passed on the 3rd of January, by which any address to the king was forbidden, every member should be at liberty to propose what he should deem necessary for the good of the kingdom [t].

For three weeks Cromwell had foreseen and endeavoured to prevent this reverse: in the name of the leaders of the army, and of his

[r] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 881.
[s] April 27th.
[t] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 882, 883.

party, he had caused an offer to be made to the common council[u], that the command of the militia and of the Tower should be restored to the city, and that the aldermen who had been accused, should be set at liberty, provided they would pledge themselves to take no part with the Scots, in their approaching invasion; but these offers were rejected[x]. Driven from all hopes of conciliation, and seeing the presbyterians fast gaining ground in the city, and credit in the parliament, he was eager for risking some decisive blow. He went to head-quarters, called a council of officers, and proposed that the army should march upon London, expel their adversaries from the house, and, in a word, take full possession of power in the name of all well-disposed people. For a moment the proposal was adopted: but so rude an attack on the rights of a parliament, which had so long been the idol and master of the country, still alarmed the boldest. They hesitated. Fairfax, who began to grow uneasy respecting the issue of what was going on; took advantage of this hesitation, and turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of the lieutenant-general, who wished to give his orders at once; the project was abandoned[y]. Cromwell, disappointed by this second failure, suspected by some, for his

[u] April 18th, 1648.

[x] Clement Walker, Hist. of Independency, p. 82-83.

[y] Fairfax, Memoirs, p. 405-406.

endeavours for a reconciliation, and by others for the violence of his designs, resolved at once to leave London, to march against the insurgents in the west, and regain by war the ascendency which he was losing. He easily obtained this mission from the parliament. While the troops which were to follow him were making the necessary preparations, he one day complained to Ludlow of his situation, recalled what he had done for the common cause, to what perils and hatred he had exposed himself, and dwelt on the ingratitude of his party. Ludlow listened to his complaints, and reminded him on the other hand of the many motives and pretexts he had given to suspicion, pressed him to renounce intrigue and ambition, and upon this condition promised him the support of the republicans, and left him delighted with the willing attention his counsels had obtained[z]. A few days after, Cromwell was on the march for Wales, at the head of five regiments, and, almost at the gates of London, an appointed meeting took place between him and the presbyterian ministers, from which they retired no less satisfied[a].

He was no sooner gone, than war, which he went to seek, broke out on all sides round parliament: the cavaliers had agreed among themselves to attempt nothing till the Scots had crossed the borders; yet every day, in one

[z] Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 288.
[a] Mrs. Hutchinson, Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 157-158.

place or another, the popular wish, a favourable opportunity, some unexpected circumstance which seemed not to admit of delay, hastened the breaking out of the insurrection. The inhabitants of Essex had petitioned that negotiations should be re-opened with the king, and that the army, after the payment of arrears, should be disbanded[b]. Following their example, seven or eight hundred gentlemen, freeholders, and farmers of Surrey, went to London[c], bearing a similar petition; but its tone was far more haughty; it prayed that the king should be recalled to Whitehall, and replaced on the throne with the splendour of his ancestors, and when they arrived at Westminster, some of them, addressing the soldiers, said: "How can you bide there guarding a set of rogues?" The soldiers warmly resented this affront; a quarrel took place, the soldiers were disarmed, and one of them was killed. A reinforcement of troops arrived, who charged upon the petitioners in their turn, and followed them from passage to passage, from hall to hall, from street to street; they did not however give way till after they had made a warm resistance, leaving five or six dead at the doors of parliament[d]. On hearing this, the royalists of Kent, who were also preparing a petition, drew themselves up into divisions of foot and horse, chose officers,

[b] May 24th, 1648; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1101.

[c] May 16th.

[d] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1116; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 886; Whitelocke, p. 305; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 283.

appointed places of rendezvous, made lord Goring earl of Norwich their general, and occupied Sandwich, Dover, and several forts; more than seven thousand having assembled at Rochester[e], they proposed to march together, and in arms to present their petition to parliament[f]. As soon as the banner of rebellion was raised upon this pretext, others openly unfurled it, without taking the trouble of enumerating their grievances in a petition. Sir Charles Lucas in Essex, lord Capel in Hertfordshire, Sir Gilbert Byron in the neighbourhood of Nottingham, openly raised troops for the king's service. In the north, in order to facilitate the entrance of the Scots into the kingdom, Langdale and Musgrave had taken and garrisoned Berwick and Carlisle[g]. Some symptoms of mutiny also appeared in the fleet stationed in the downs; Rainsborough who was vice-admiral, set off immediately to repress it; but the sailors refused to receive him[h], they embarked all their officers in a boat, sent them on shore, and declared themselves for the king, and without any commander above the degree of quarter-master, sailed for Holland, where the duke of York, who had succeeded in making his escape from St. James's, and soon after the prince

[e] May 29th.

[f] Journals of the house of lords; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1130; Whitelocke, p. 303; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. ix. p. 95, etc.

[g] May 2nd and 8th; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1099, 1105; Clarendon, Hist of the Rebell., vol. ix. p. 119-126.

[h] May 27th.

of Wales himself, took the command[i]. Even in London many privately enlisted for the king's service, and many royalist oaths were taken; armed bands passed through the city to join the insurgents[k]; the house of the earl of Holland and that of the young duke of Buckingham were at all hours of the day filled with the disaffected, who came to inquire where and at what time they were to meet[l]. In short, the insurrection, like an unquenchable conflagration, extended on all sides, more closely encircling Westminster every day; all the efforts of the committee of Derby house, where the independents prevailed, all the skill of Vane and St. John, to induce accusations and unravel plots[m], did not prevent the cry of "God and king Charles!" from sounding continually in the ear of parliament.

The presbyterians themselves began to feel some alarm; the Scots, their firmest friends, had not arrived; they found themselves on the point of falling into the hands of the cavaliers, who were the only promoters of this movement, but who felt no more liking for presbyterian doctrines and intentions than for any other, but

[i] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. ix. p. 89-91, 94-95, 101-104; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 896, 899, 906; Journals of the House of Lords; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 269; Godwin, Hist. of the Commonwealth, vol. ii. p. 531-533, 551-556.

[k] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1117, 1174; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 892-893.

[l] Whitelocke, p. 313; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. ix. p. 166.

[m] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 887-892.

indiscriminately cursed the whole parliament, demanded the restoration of the king and laws of old England, and, by practising forbidden games, celebrating suppressed festivals, and erecting the maypoles[n] which had been hewn down, insulted and made a mockery of the austere rigours of this new worship. Hammond sent word that the king had almost succeeded in effecting his escape[o]; and the most moderate shuddered at the thoughts of his appearing all at once at the gates of London at the head of these thousands of insurgents: party hatreds, a desire for peace, alarm respecting the future, all gave way at the greatness of this danger. To deprive the rebellion of its most specious pretext, negotiations were again voted[p]; the aldermen of the city were fully acquitted[q]; Skippon took the command of the militia, colonel West that of the Tower, of which he had been dispossessed by Fairfax[r], and an ordinance against heresy and swearing, which authorised even the infliction of death in some cases, proved the return of presbyterian ascendency[s]. But, at the same time, all idea of concession or gentle dealing towards the cavaliers was warmly

[n] Whitelocke, p. 305.

[o] May 31st; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 899-909, 921-928; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. ix. p. 262-267.

[p] May 6th and 24th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 885-892.

[q] May 23rd; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 891.

[r] May 18th; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1118.

[s] May 2nd; Journals of the House of Lords.

opposed; all papists and disaffected persons were banished from London, under far more severe penalties than ever[s]; the property of delinquents was employed to pay the debts due to the friends of the good cause[t]; the sale of church lands was hastened[u]; reinforcements were sent to the garrison of Carisbrook[x]; and the common council, after having received communications which were to them, they said, like a beam of light shining through the clouds, solemnly protested that they were resolved to live and die with the parliament[y]. In short, Fairfax received orders immediately to open a campaign against the bands who infested the neighbourhood of London; Lambert to march to the north, at least to repress the insurrection, that Langdale and Musgrave had raised while waiting for the arrival of the Scots; and by a violence till then unheard of, undoubtedly to prove the sincerity of their proceedings, the

[s] May 23rd; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1124.

[t] May 11th; ibid., p. 1110.

[u] In the course of the years 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, and 1651, there were lands sold:

In the see of York to the amount of	£65,786	7	1¾
In the see of Durham	68,121	15	9
In the see of Carlisle	6,449	11	2
In the see of Chester	1,129	18	4
In all to the amount of	£141,487	12	4¾

Harris, Life of Cromwell, p. 306 in the note.

[x] Towards the end of May; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1130.

[y] May 20th; Parl. Hist, vol. iii. col. 890.

commons voted that the king's presence should no longer serve as an excuse to the rebels, and that no quarter should be granted them [z].

Fairfax, three days after his departure from Windsor [a], had overtaken and beaten the principal body of the insurgents at Maidstone: they had in vain sought to avoid so sudden a rencontre, but when obliged to fight, had maintained a long and bloody [b] conflict in the streets of the town. Fairfax's soldiers, still animated by the most ardent fanaticism, inured to war, detesting the cavaliers, and despising these young soldiers, pushed forward with feelings of anger a war the danger of which seemed almost an insult. They traversed by forced marches the county of Kent, daily dispersing some gathering, or retaking some place, rough towards the country, but exact in their discipline, and allowing the royalists neither rest nor refuge; Goring nevertheless again succeeded in assembling three or four thousand men, and appeared at the head of them at Blackheath [c], almost at the gates of London, being animated with the hope that a rebellion would break out at his approach, or that, at least, he should receive some secret assistance. He even wrote to the common council, requesting leave to pass through the

[z] May 11th; Journals of the House of Commons.

[a] June 1st.

[b] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1137; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 902; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 293.

[c] June 3rd.

city quietly with his men, into Essex. But so far from sending him an answer, the council forwarded his letter to the commons, saying, they were ready to regulate their conduct in all things according to their wishes[d]. Upon hearing this the cavaliers grew dispirited, disorder spread among them, they deserted in whole companies, and it was with great difficulty that Goring could procure a sufficient number of boats to cross the Thames at Greenwich, with seven or eight hundred men who followed him into Essex. There he found the rebels still powerful and confident, under the command of Sir Charles Lucas. Lord Capel joined them with a troop of cavaliers from Hertfordshire; they marched in a body to Colchester[e], in rather better spirits, and with the intention of resting there for a day or two, and afterwards overrunning together the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, raising the royalists as they went, and then return to London through Cambridge at the head of a numerous army. But no sooner had they arrived at Colchester than Fairfax appeared under the walls, and closely surrounded the town[f]. Thus a fortnight's campaign had been sufficient to enclose in one town, almost without means of defence, the remains of the insurrection which had so lately surrounded London on all sides. The rebels after this endeavoured to

[d] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1130; Whitelocke, p. 305; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 294.

[e] June 12th.

[f] June 13th.

make head at one or two places, in the counties of Rutland, Northampton, Lincoln, and Sussex[g]. Even in the bosom of the city, under the eyes of parliament, the lords Holland, Peterborough, and Buckingham, took arms; and, followed by about a hundred cavaliers, went out of the town[h], proclaiming that they had no design of sacrificing public liberties to the king, but merely wished to re-establish him in his legal rights. But while they were yet wandering in the neighbourhood of London, Sir Michael Lindsey, who had been sent from head-quarters against them, suddenly attacked them[i], killed several of their officers, among others the young Sir Francis Villiers, brother to the duke of Buckingham, and, being reinforced next day by Scoop's regiment, followed them without respite into Huntingdonshire, where, at length wearied by their flight, they dispersed in all directions, leaving lord Holland wounded, in the hands of the enemy[k]. The other attempts in the east and south, had no better success. Letters were received from Cromwell[l], in which he promised, that in a fortnight Pembroke castle, the bulwark of the rebels in the west, would be in his

[g] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1135, 1145, 1149, 1150, 1169; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 300.

[h] July 5th.

[i] July 7th.

[k] July 10th; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1178, 1180, 1182, 1187; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 925-927; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 301; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. ix. p. 166-169.

[l] June 16th.

power [m]. In the north, though inferior in force, Lambert valiantly maintained the honour and authority of parliament against Langdale's cavaliers [n]. Finally, Colchester, notwithstanding the indomitable resistance of the besieged, who could be moved by no offers nor attack, was sorely reduced by famine, and could not hold out long against Fairfax, who had nothing else to attend to [o].

The presbyterians, having overcome their first anxiety, and being freed from the fear of falling into the power of the cavaliers, again began to dread the independents and the army, and to meditate a peace. Petitions in favour of it, still numerous, though less imperious, were better received [p]. The expulsion of the eleven members was repealed, and they were invited to resume their seats [q]. New proposals to the king, less rigorous than those which had hitherto been made, were talked of; parliament showed itself willing to enter into negotiations with him provided he would consent, first, to repeal all his proclamations against the parliament; secondly, to give up for ten years the disposal of the military and naval forces; thirdly, to establish the presbyterian church for three years [r]. A

[m] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1159.

[n] Ibid., p. 1157; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell.; vol. ix. p. 126.

[o] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1204; Whitelocke, p. 312, 313, 314, 316, 317.

[p] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 921.

[q] June 8th; ibid., col. 907.

[r] June 6th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 904.

select committee[s] was appointed to examine what was to be done in order to attain this end, and at what time, in what place, and in what manner, it would be proper to treat. Some one even inquired whether it would not be convenient for the king immediately to return to Windsor[t]; and on receiving a petition from the city[u], the lords voted that London was the place where the conferences should be held[x]. Finally, on the 30th of June, the vote forbidding any further address to the king, was rescinded by a vote of the house[y]; and three days after, a motion was made in the house of commons that another treaty should be offered without delay to the king.

But the independents had also regained confidence; proud of the success of their soldiers, they violently opposed this motion: "No time, no place," said Scott, "is the proper one to treat with a prince so perfidious and implacable; it will always be too late or too soon. Whoever draws the sword against the king, must throw the scabbard into the fire; peace with him would be the ruin of godly people." The presbyterians did not attempt to defend the king, but declared against these pretended godly people, whom peace would indeed ruin as war had made

[s] June 26th; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1164.
[t] Ibid., p. 1162.
[u] June 27th.
[x] Journals of the House of Lords.
[y] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 921.

their fortune: "The people," they said, "have been ruined by war, and will no longer be an aliment to that fire in which these salamanders alone can live; they will no longer feed with their blood and their marrow those leeches who are called the army, and whom they only summoned for their service." When the question was put, in what place the negotiations should be opened, the presbyterians said London, or some castle in the neighbourhood; the independents, the Isle of Wight, where Charles remained in their power. "If you treat with this madman of a king in London," said Scott, "who can assure you that the city will not conclude peace with him themselves by giving him your heads as a sacrifice, as the Samaritans gave the heads of the seventy sons of Achab to Jehu? If the king establish himself in one of the neighbouring castles, what security can his word be to you that he will remain there till the negotiations are concluded? the king has forsworn himself twenty times; you cannot trust in his word." Several members spoke in support of this assertion, and among others Vane. Sir Symonds d'Ewes said: "I am quite of a contrary opinion; I think that the house not only ought to trust the king, but that it cannot very well do otherwise; Mr. Speaker, if you are not aware of your situation, allow me, in a few words, to acquaint you with it: Your money is spent, your gold swallowed up, your ships in rebellion, yourselves held in contempt; your friends, the Scots, are enraged against you,

and the affection of the city and the kingdom is entirely withdrawn from you. I leave you to judge whether this is a state of safety, and whether it is not high time that something should be done to get out of it[z]?" The independents clamorously exclaimed against this speech; but many members, who were strangers to faction, and in the habit of voting according to circumstances with either party, silently approved of what Sir Symonds had said; they voted that it was necessary to treat; but the house, contrary to the wish of the lords, persisted[a] in the request that the king should be required to adopt the three bills; and nothing was decided as to the place in which the negotiations should take place.

The house was deliberating with the common council, in order to decide that they should take place in London, without danger to the king or parliament[b], when the news arrived that the Scots had entered the kingdom[c], and that Lambert was retreating before them. Notwithstanding the intrigues of Argyle, and the furious denunciations of a part of the clergy, Hamilton had at last succeeded in raising an army. It is true that it did not answer to the first resolution of

[z] Clement Walker, History of Independency, p. 108-110; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 922-924.

[a] Eighty voices against seventy-two; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 924.

[b] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1185-1187.

[c] July 8th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 931; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1188.

parliament; instead of forty thousand, it contained scarcely fourteen thousand men; the court of France had promised arms and ammunition, but nothing had yet been received; the prince of Wales was to cross over to Scotland and take the command, but he still remained in Holland; even Langdale and Musgrave's cavaliers had not joined their allies, as they refused to take the covenant, and Hamilton did not dare to place such miscreants by the side of his soldiers, without losing his reputation with his own party; so that they formed a separate body, and seemed to act only on their own account, and always at a distance from the Scots. In short, Hamilton's intentions having been thwarted by so many obstacles, were not completed, nor his artillery in order, when the premature breaking out of the royalist insurrection in England obliged him to hasten his departure; he left Scotland ill-provided, and disturbed and followed by the abuse of a multitude of fanatics, who prophesied the ruin of an army employed to restore the king to his rights before that Christ was put in possession of his[d].

The sensation, however, produced in England by the news of this invasion was still very great, and extended to every part of the kingdom; there seemed no chance of opposing it; Fairfax

[d] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1196-1198; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 112, 114, 142; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 297; Bowring, p. 98; Herbert, Memoirs, p. 57; Malcolm Laing, Hist. of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 394-402.

was still engaged before Colchester, and Cromwell at Pembroke; the insurrection, scarcely subdued, might from hour to hour be expected to break out again. The perplexity of the presbyterians was extreme; the people, even those who were well-disposed towards them, felt their old aversion to the Scots revive, and only spoke of them with abuse, not forgetting to throw in their teeth how they had lately sold the king whom they now pretended to deliver, and requesting that before anything else was done, these rapacious and deceitful foreigners should be driven from the kingdom. A motion was made in the house of commons[e] that they should be declared public enemies to the commonwealth, and that those who had invited them should be considered as traitors; ninety members opposed this by their votes, but timidly and without success; it only failed in the upper house[f]. The lords moreover voted that the negotiations with the king should be hastened[g], and upon this occasion the presbyterians succeeded by getting the commons[h] no longer to insist upon the previous adoption of the three bills which it had wished to make the foundation of any treaty. But without troubling itself about these daily changes in the strength of parties, the Derby-

[e] July 14th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 934.

[f] July 18th; ibid., col. 936.

[g] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1183.

[h] July 28th; seventy-one voices against sixty-four; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 956.

house committee, still in the power of the independents, sent money and reinforcements to Lambert, and orders to Cromwell to send what troops he could to the north, and to march thither himself as fast as possible; the republican leaders likewise crushing their suspicions before his genius, wrote to him privately, begging him to fear nothing, but to act with vigour, and depend upon their support, notwithstanding the opposition he had heretofore received from them[i].

Cromwell had waited for neither promises nor orders; being well informed, perhaps by Argyle himself, of the condition and movements of the Scottish army, he had, a month before, sent word to Lambert to retire as soon as they appeared, to avoid an engagement, and that he would soon be ready to support him. Indeed Pembroke castle capitulated three days after the invasion[k]; and two days after, Cromwell set off at the head of five or six thousand men, ill clad, with scarcely shoes to their feet, but proud of their glory, irritated by their perils, full of confidence in their leader and of contempt for their enemies, anxious to fight and certain of victory. Cromwell wrote to Derby-house, saying: "Send me some shoes for my poor tired soldiers, for they have a long march to take[l]." Indeed he traversed all England, first from west to east,

[i] Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 304; Godwin, Hist. of the Commonwealth, vol. ii. p. 591.

[k] July 11th, 1648.

[l] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1206.

and then from south to north, with a rapidity of march till then without example[m], disseminating protestations and pious ejaculations, solely intent on dispelling suspicions, gaining the hearts of the blindest fanatics, and cultivating the affections and sympathy of his soldiers[n]. Thirteen days after his departure, his cavalry, which had been sent in advance, had overtaken that of Lambert[o], and he joined it himself the 7th of August, at Knaresborough, in Yorkshire, the two corps forming together about nine or ten thousand men. The Scots had in the mean time advanced by the western road through the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancaster, but they were full of indecision, made long halts, straggled along many miles apart, internally agitated by religious, political, and military dissensions, and in complete ignorance of the enemy's movements. Suddenly Langdale, who was in advance of the army, and who marched with the English insurgents to the left, sent word to Hamilton that Cromwell was drawing near, that he had certain information of it, and that everything announced on his part an intention of giving immediate battle. "Impossible," replied the duke, "they have not had time to come; if Cromwell is so near, it can only be with a small division, and he will not think of attacking

[m] He took his road from Pembroke to Yorkshire, through Gloucester, Warwick, Nottingham, and Doncaster.

[n] Mrs. Hutchinson, Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 158-161.

[o] July 27th.

us;" and he took up his head-quarters at Preston. Another message[p], however, soon arrived; Langdale's cavalry was already engaged with Cromwell's. Langdale promised to resist firmly; his position was good, his men animated; he only wanted some reinforcements, a thousand men at least, and he would give the whole army time to rally and crush the enemy. Hamilton promised reinforcements; Langdale fought for four hours; Cromwell himself acknowledged that he had never met with so desperate a resistance. But no assistance came, he was obliged to yield. Cromwell, leaving the English to fly without obstacle, marched without delay towards the Scots, who were hurrying to cross the Ribble, and place this obstacle between them; most of the regiments had already crossed the river; only two brigades of infantry, and Hamilton himself with a few squadrons, remained to cover their retreat; Cromwell immediately routed them, passed the river with them, and allowing his troops but a few moments' rest, continued the next morning[q] at daybreak his pursuit of that army, which in flying from him still continued its progress towards the south. He overtook it the same day at Wigan, fifteen miles from Preston, and cut its rearguard to pieces. The pride of their two victories, the hope of a decisive triumph, even the impatience of fatigue, hourly increased the courage of his soldiers; the pursuit was again con-

[p] August 17th. [q] August 18th.

tinued the next day[r], still more eagerly and rapidly. At length the Scots, irritated in their turn at being thus closely pressed by an inferior army, meeting with an advantageous defile near Warrington, suddenly turned and faced it, and there took place a third and more bloody battle than the other two, but with the same result. The English took the defile, and afterwards a bridge over the Mersey in Warrington, which the Scots were about to break down in order to allow themselves time for escape. A general cry and tumult now broke out in the Scottish army; a council of war declared that the infantry could no longer resist for want of ammunition. It surrendered. Hamilton, at the head of the cavalry, thought of flying into Wales, to re-animate the royalist insurrection there; but, suddenly changing his mind, he marched towards the north-east, in hopes of being able to reach Scotland. As he passed, the magistrates everywhere summoned him to surrender, and the peasants rose in arms against him; at Uttoxeter, in Staffordshire, on hearing a report that he purposed to escape with a few officers, his own cavalry mutinied. At this time Lambert and lord Grey de Groby, who had been sent in pursuit of him, were on the point of overtaking him; too faint-hearted to struggle against so adverse a fate[s], he left his men to surrender or disband at their pleasure, accepted himself the conditions

[r] August 19th. [s] August 25th.

offered by Lambert, and was sent prisoner to Nottingham. Thus, after a fortnight's campaign, Cromwell, finding no remnant of the Scottish army on English ground, was at liberty to march towards Scotland, to invade it in his turn, and wrest from the royalist presbyterians, all means of action and of success[u].

But in extreme peril, party spirit, so far from being subdued, is often excited, and deals the roughest blows. Even before the news of these great events had reached Westminster, the presbyterians, upon hearing of Cromwell's march against the Scots, saw that his triumph would be their ruin, and that his downfal or a speedy peace could alone save them. They immediately, therefore, employed all their energies to obtain one of these objects. Hollis, who, notwithstanding the recall of the eleven members, had still continued to reside in France, on the coast of Normandy, now came and took his seat in the house of commons[x]. Huntingdon, who had been a major in Cromwell's own regiment, publicly set forth in a memorial addressed to the upper house, the lieutenant-general's intrigues, his promises, and his perfidious conduct towards

[u] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1237, 1239, 1241; Clarendon, History of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 143-147; Mrs. Hutchinson, Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 173; Ludlow, vol. i. p. 308; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 997-1000; Malcolm Laing, History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 400-403; Godwin, History of the Commonwealth, vol. ii. p. 563-572; Baker, A Chronicle of the Kings of England, etc., p. 606, (Lond. 1668, folio).

[x] August 14th; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1226.

the king; the boldness of his ambition, his contempt of parliament, of the laws, the duties, and the common rights of men; the pernicious principles, the threatening designs which sometimes pierced through his hypocrisy, and sometimes broke out in his familiar conversation. The lords ordered the memorial to be read, and Huntingdon made oath of its truth [y]. He purposed, likewise, to present it to the commons, but so great was the terror already inspired by the name of Cromwell, that no member would have anything to do with it. He sent it in a wrapper to the speaker, but Lenthall did not mention it to the house; he attempted to give it to the usher, but he refused to take it. The lords sent it officially to the commons, but Wharton, one of Cromwell's most intimate confidants, followed the messenger out, and sent word to the speaker on what occasion they were coming, and they were not admitted [z]. The independents loudly gave vent to their indignation; they called it base cowardice thus to attack an absent member, who was perhaps at that very hour delivering his country from foreign invasion; and many of the presbyterians themselves were intimidated by this argument. Thus all hopes of destroying the lieutenant-general in a direct manner were given up, and Huntingdon was obliged to rest satisfied with having his narrative printed. The

[y] August 8th.

[z] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 965; Whitelocke, p. 323.

proceedings which were begun in order to establish peace met with more success. The independent leaders, particularly Vane and St. John, in vain employed every means in their power to prolong the debates; in vain the more plain-spoken, Scott, Venn, Harvey, and Weaver, gave vent to the wildest excesses of fury against their adversaries; this very violence, the increasing anarchy, the arrogance of the soldiers, the imperious tone of pamphlets and petitions, everything warned the house of its own decline, everything biassed those, not too deeply engaged in one of the factions, to desire peace. "Mr. Speaker," said Rudyard one day, "by sitting here we are at last arrived at a pretty situation; the whole kingdom is become a parliament; the army has long enough dictated to us what we ought to do, and would like to dictate still; the city, the counties, disbanded officers, come every day to tell us what we ought to do: and why? because we know not ourselves what we have to do." The majority thought with him that peace alone could relieve them from so many disgraceful embarrassments. They at last came to a resolution, voted that fresh negotiations should be immediately entered upon; agreed, to silence the independents [a], that they should take place in the Isle of Wight, and charged three commissioners [b] to bear a formal proposal to the king,

[a] July 29th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 959.
[b] August 2nd; ibid., col. 964, 965.

requesting to know also by them, in what part of the island he would like to reside while the treaty was going on, and which of his councillors he wished to have near him.

The independent leaders did not deceive themselves; this was a decided defeat. The majority of the people, more frightened at their triumph than they had been by their threats, finding the crisis approach, plainly favoured their enemies. Ludlow directly set off for head-quarters, which were still before Colchester, and said to Fairfax: "Plots are formed to betray the cause for which so much blood has been shed; peace is demanded at any rate; the king, being a prisoner, will not think himself bound by his promises; even those who most urgently press the negotiations care little about his fulfilling them; to employ his name and authority to get rid of the army, such is their real and only design; the army has regained its power, and must use it if it would prevent its own ruin and that of the nation." Fairfax owned the justice of these remarks, and protested that for himself, he should not hesitate in case of need to employ the power he possessed for the safety of the public cause. "But," said he, "I must be clearly and positively invited so to do; and as for the present, I cannot abandon the siege of this unfortunate place, which still holds out notwithstanding all our endeavours." Ludlow next went to Ireton, whom Cromwell had taken care to leave with the general, and from whom he expected more

zeal. "The moment is not yet come," said Ireton; "we must let the negotiations advance, and the peril become evident[c]." The republicans, finding they could not employ the army, sent threatening petitions to Westminster, one in particular, drawn up by Henry Martyn[d], which set forth all the principles of the party, summoned the commons to declare themselves the sovereign power, and at last to answer the expectations of the people, in granting them the reforms they hoped for when they had taken up arms in favour of parliament. The commons made no reply: two days after a second petition was presented complaining of this contempt; and upon this occasion the petitioners waited in numbers at the door, crying, "What is the use of a king and lords? these are human inventions; God has made us all equal; thousands of brave people are ready to shed the last drop of their blood for these principles; there are already forty thousand of us who have signed this petition, but five thousand horse would be preferable." Even some of the members, Scott, Blackiston, and Weaver, went out of the hall and familiarly mingled with the crowd, and encouraged these cries. The house persisted in its silence, but the firmer it showed itself the more violently the party rushed towards the accomplishment of its

[c] Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 312-316.

[d] September 11th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1005-1013; Whitelocke, p. 330, 331; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1257; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 312, in the note; see the Collection.

last designs: five days after this scene[e], Henry Martyn set off for Scotland, which Cromwell had just entered.

At the same time[f] fifteen commissioners departed for the Isle of Wight, five lords and ten members of the commons[g], all, except perhaps Vane and lord Say, favourable to peace. Never had a negotiation excited so many anxious expectations; it was to last forty days; the king had eagerly accepted it, and given his oath that in that interval and for twenty days after he would make no attempt to escape. Twenty of his most ancient servants, lords, divines, and lawyers, had been allowed to advise with him; he had even requested and obtained that part of his household domestics and retinue should be given back to him on this occasion[h]; and when the commissioners arrived in the little town of Newport[i], the crowd was so great that three days passed before they could all procure lodgings. In the meantime the commissioners attended the king every morning, treating him with profound respect, but at the same time with great reserve, and without one of them

[e] September 18th; Whitelocke, p. 332.

[f] September 13th.

[g] The lords Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, Middlesex, and Say; lord Wenman, Hollis, Pierpoint, Vane, Grimstone, Sir John Potts, John Crew, Samuel Brown, John Glynn, and John Bulkley.

[h] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1001; Journals of the House of Lords, August 24th.

[i] September 15th.

daring to converse with him in private. But to make up for this, most of them held familiar intercourse with his councillors, and through them indirectly conveyed their advice to him, exhorting him above all things to accept at once the proposals of parliament, without debate; adding, that all would be lost if the negotiation were not settled and the king returned to London before Cromwell and his army should arrive there[k]. Charles seemed to believe in the sincerity of their counsels, and inclined to follow them; but in his heart he nourished a far different hope; Ormond, who for the last six months had found refuge in Paris[l], was about to reappear in Ireland, provided with money and ammunition, with which the court of France had promised to supply him; he was, upon his arrival, and in concert with lord Inchiquin, to conclude a peace with the catholics, and enter upon a vigorous war against the parliament; the king, who was to effect his escape, would then have soldiers and a kingdom[m]: "This fresh negotiation," he wrote to Sir William Hopkins[n], who was charged to prepare everything for his flight, "will only be a pretence, as the others were; I have not

[k] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 222-224; Herbert, Memoirs, p. 71.

[l] March, 1648.

[m] Carte, Life of Ormond, vol. ii. p. 20-38.

[n] In August, 1648. The king's letters to Sir William Hopkins were published in the 3rd edition of Wagstaff's work, 'Vindication of the Royal Martyr.'

changed any one of my designs." The conference was officially opened on the 18th of September. The king sat under a canopy, at the upper end of the hall; before him were the commissioners from Westminster, seated round a table; behind his chair stood his own councillors, in silence; for it was with the king in person that the parliament wished to treat; any mediator would have seemed to lower their dignity; and, in a punctual obedience to their orders, it was with great reluctance that the commissioners had allowed a few witnesses to be present. Charles, then, had to maintain the discussion alone; the utmost he was allowed was to retire into another room, and receive the advice of his councillors [o]. At the sight of their king thus alone, and obliged to answer for himself, an inward emotion seized the hearts of all who were present. Charles's hair had turned grey; an expression of habitual care had blended with the dignity of his appearance; his deportment, his voice, every feature, still revealed a haughty and yet subdued mind, at once incapable of struggling against its destiny, or being cast down by it; a touching and singular mixture of grandeur without power, and presumption without hope. The proposals of parliament, still the same, save a few unimportant modifications,

[o] Herbert, Memoirs, p. 72; Warwick, Memoirs, p. 275; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 225.

[p] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 225, 226.

were read and examined. Charles willingly entered into their discussion. He was calm, gave answers to all, took no offence at any opposition that was made, skilfully brought forward all the favourable points of his cause; in short, he astonished his most prejudiced adversaries by the firmness of his mind, his gentleness, and his knowledge of the laws and affairs of the kingdom. "The king is much changed," said the earl of Salisbury one day to Sir Philip Warwick; "he is extremely improved of late." "No, my lord," replied Warwick, "he was always so, but you are now at last sensible of it." Bulkley, one of the commissioners from the commons, urged him to accept the whole, assuring him that "the treaty once ended, the devil himself would not be able to break it." "Sir," said Charles, "you call this a treaty? Remember, I pray you, that quarrel in a play where one of the two champions says, as he goes away; 'There was and there was not a battle, for there were three blows given, and I received all three of them.' This is precisely my case, for I admit most of your proposals; I only object to a few of them; and you on your side grant me no concessions [q]." He had, indeed, agreed to consent to the demands of parliament in the command of the military and naval forces, on the nomination to great offices, on Ireland, even on the legitimacy of the resistance which had

[q] Warwick, Memoirs, p. 277, 278.

brought on the civil war; but instead of giving up at once and without hesitation, he disputed every foot of the ground he could no longer defend; sometimes offering, himself, different proposals to the house, sometimes seeking to elude his own concessions, obstinate in maintaining his right at the very moment he was giving it up, inexhaustible in subtleties and niceties, daily giving his adversaries reason to think that the hardest necessity was their only security against him. Besides this, he persisted, as much from conscientious motives as to support the interest of his prerogative, to oppose the abolition of episcopacy, and the rigours which they desired to inflict on its principal supporters. At last, after having solemnly promised that all hostilities in Ireland should cease[r], he secretly wrote to Ormond[s], saying: "Obey my wife's orders, not mine, until I shall let you know that I am free from all restraint; do not trouble yourself about my concessions on the subject of Ireland; they will not lead to anything;" and the day on which he conceded the command of the armed forces[t], he wrote to Sir William Hopkins: "To tell you the truth, the great concession I made this morning was granted only with a view to facilitate my approaching escape; without that hope I should never have yielded in this man-

[r] Journals of the House of Lords, December 1st.

[s] October 10th; Carte, Life of Ormond, vol. ii. Appendix, No. 31, 32, p. 17.

[t] October 9th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1048.

ner; had I refused, I could have returned without much sorrow to my captivity; but as it is, I own it would break my heart, for I have done that which my escape alone can justify[u]."

The parliament, although they had no correct information on the subject, suspected this perfidy; even the friends of peace, those who were the most touched by the king's destiny, and who felt most anxiously a desire to save him, knew not what to oppose to the charges of the independents. At the same time, the devout presbyterians, though moderate in their political intentions, were invincible in their hatred of episcopacy, and could not admit that the triumph of the covenant should be attended with either compromise or delay. An idea also prevailed, that after so many evils brought upon the country by war, it was necessary that the conquered party should legally suffer as the responsible one, and that to satisfy divine justice, manifested by so many striking examples in the Holy Scriptures, the crime of those truly guilty should be expiated by their punishment. Disputes arose respecting their number; the popular fanatics demanded a multitude of exceptions to be made in the general amnesty which was to be proclaimed upon the settlement of peace; the presbyterians only demanded seven[x], but with insurmountable perti-

[u] Wagstaff, Vindication of the Royal Martyr, etc., Appendix, p. 161.

[x] The lords Newcastle and Digby, Sir Marmaduke Langdale,

nacity, for they would have thought they accepted their own condemnation in giving them up. Thus narrow prejudices, and feelings of hatred, prevented the success of the negotiations even among the party who wished for peace. Five times[y], during their continuation, the king's offers or concessions were voted insufficient. In the midst of these perplexities, the time appointed for the duration of the conferences expired; their term was three times protracted[z]; it was decided that Sundays and holidays should not be reckoned[a], but without any further concession, and without giving any fresh instruction or the slightest liberty to the negotiators. The king, on his part, declared, upon his honour and his salvation, that he should go no further: "I am," he said, "in the situation of that captain, who receiving no assistance from his chiefs, had permission to give up the place: 'They cannot help me when I request it,' said he, 'so then let them help me when they can; but in the mean time I will hold out in the place until one of its stones shall cover my grave,'—I shall do the same by the church of England[b]." Thus the negotiations still remained stationary and useless, displaying only the impotent anxiety of the two parties,

Sir Richard Greenville, David Jenkins, Sir Francis Doddington, and Sir John Byron.

[y] October 2nd, 11th, and 27th; November 2nd, and 24th.

[z] November 2nd, 18th, and 24th.

[a] October 20th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1058.

[b] Warwick, Memoirs, p. 280.

who both obstinately disowned and opposed necessity[c].

A vortex meanwhile was rapidly forming around them, and daily assumed a more threatening aspect. Colchester, after two months of the most desperate resistance, overcome by famine and sedition, at last surrendered[d]; and the next day a court-martial condemned three of its bravest defenders to death, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Sir Bernard Gascoign, as an example, it was said, to future rebels, who should be tempted to imitate them. In vain the other prisoners, lord Capel in particular, begged Fairfax to suspend the execution, or at least to command that they should all share the same fate, since all were alike guilty. But Fairfax, excited, or rather intimidated by Ireton, made no answer, and the order was given to shoot them on the spot. Sir Charles Lucas was first shot; as he fell, Lisle ran and kissed him, and immediately standing up, he cried to the soldiers to approach, for they were too far from him; one of them replied, "I'll warrant you, Sir, we'll hit you;" he answered, smiling, "Friends, I have been nearer you when you have missed me;" and he fell by the side of his friend. Gascoign was already undressed, when a reprieve arrived for him from

[c] Clarendon, State Papers, vol. ii. p. 222-261; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1002-1129; Warwick, Memoirs, p. 275-283; Herbert, Memoirs, p. 70-79; Bowring, p. 92-143.

[d] August 27th, 1648; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1241-1249.

the general[e]. Colchester being taken, there was no longer any rallying point for the insurrection in the east. In the north, Cromwell having conquered Hamilton, entered Scotland without obstacle[f]; the peasants in the western counties, when they first heard of his victory, rose in a body; and each parish, led by its minister, marched for Edinburgh, to drive the royalists from thence[g]; about six miles from Berwick, Argyle, who had come to meet him, held a long conference[h] with him at lord Mordington's seat; both were as clear-sighted as they were bold, and success did not blind them to impending danger; the Scottish royalists, notwithstanding their defeat, were still powerful and in arms, in many places showed themselves determined not to submit without resistance to a bloody reaction; a treaty was speedily concluded[i], which secured to them the undisturbed enjoyment of their possessions under the condition that they should disband their troops, abjure any future engagement in favour of the king, and take a new oath to the union,

[e] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 171.

[f] September 20th.

[g] This expedition was called in Scotland the insurrection of the 'whigamores,' from the word 'whigam' used by the peasants in driving their horses to excite them to go on. From thence the name of Whigs, afterwards given to the party opposed to court, as the representative and successor of the most zealous Scottish covenanters. Burnet, History of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 89.

[h] September 22nd; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1282.

[i] September 26th; Burnet, Memoirs of the Hamiltons, p. 367, 368: History of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 90, in the Collection; Malcolm Laing, History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 405.

which ought never to have been broken between the two kingdoms. Argyle and his party being thus re-established in possession of government, received Cromwell at Edinburgh with great pomp; the committee of the states, the municipal body which had been purged or re-elected, the fanatics among the clergy and the people, overwhelmed him with visits, speeches, sermons, and banquets; but, hurried by the accounts he received from Henry Martyn, and leaving with them Lambert and two regiments to maintain their power, he returned to England as soon as possible[k]. No sooner had he re-entered Yorkshire, where he seemed engaged solely in dispersing the remainder of the rebels, than numerous petitions were sent from thence to the commons, claiming the speedy chastisement of delinquents whatever their rank or station. At the same time the expression of the same wish was sent from other counties, and always presented and supported by the friends of Cromwell[l]. The presbyterians opposed it in the name of the great charter of the kingdom: "Mr. Speaker," said Denis Bond, an obscure republican, "these gentlemen pretend that the house has not the right to judge lord Norwich, nor any other great lord, because it is contrary to the great charter, and they must only be judged by their peers; I trust the day is at hand when we shall hang the greatest of

[k] October 11th; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1295, 1296.
[l] October 10th and November 6th.

them if he deserve it, without any jury of peers; and we shall find, I make no doubt of it, firm and honest judges, who will do it in spite of the great charter[m]." The house refused the petition, but others were sent immediately far more explicit and formidable; for they came from the regiments of Ireton, Ingoldsby, Whalley, and Overton, and plainly requested of the commons that they should judge the king, of Fairfax that he should re-establish the general council of the army, "For they alone," they said, "are capable of preventing the disasters which threaten us, either by their representations to the house or by any other means[n]." The council accordingly sat again; and on the 20th of November the speaker informed the house that certain officers were at the door, with colonel Ewers at their head, who were come in the name of the army to present a paper to them; it was a long remonstrance, similar to that which, seven years' before[o], on the same day, the commons had addressed to the king in order to break off decisively with him; following their example, the army enumerated in theirs all the evils, all the fears of England, imputing them to the want of energy in the parliament, to its neglect of public

[m] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1040-1042; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1318; Whitelocke, p. 341.

[n] October 18th and 30th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1056, 1077; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1297, 1311; Whitelocke, p. 338-341; Journals of the House of Commons.

[o] November 21st; see the first vol. of this work, p. 190.

interests, and its negotiations with the king; they requested it to bring him solemnly to trial, to proclaim the sovereignty of the people, to decree that henceforward the king should be elected by their representatives, to put an end to the present session, to provide for the equal distribution of the right of voting, for the regular meetings of future parliaments, and for all the reforms which the well-affected desired; threatening, in the end, though in guarded expressions, to save the country themselves if it remained any longer compromised by the weakness or negligence of men, who, after all, were, as well as the soldiers, only the delegates and servants of their fellow-citizens[p].

When this was read, the most violent uproar took place in all parts of the house; the independents, Scott, Holland, and Wentworth, demanded immediately that the army should be thanked for these frank and courageous counsels; the presbyterians, some with indignation, others in flattering terms to the officers, urged the house to lay aside the remonstrance, and, by way of marking their displeasure, to return no answer to it[q]. This expedient suited the timid as well as the bold; after two debates[r] this was resolved on by a great majority[s]. But the day had now arrived when victories only

[p] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1077-1128; Whitelocke, p. 350.

[q] *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, No. 35.

[r] November 20th and 29th.

[s] One hundred and twenty-five voices against fifty-three.

served to hasten the final reverses: without, as well as within Westminster, the effervescence and confusion were at the highest pitch; Cromwell's approaching return was already talked of[t]; and already the army announced the design of marching upon London[u]. The royalists, losing all hopes, now only thought of getting rid of, or avenging themselves on their enemies, no matter by what means: several republican members were insulted and attacked in the streets[x]; hints were sent to Fairfax even from France, that two cavaliers had formed the resolution of assassinating him at St. Albans[y]: at Doncaster a band of twenty men seized Rainsborough who commanded there, and three among them stabbed him at the moment he was endeavouring to escape from them[z]; there was a report that a plot was forming to murder eighty of the most influential members as they came from Westminster[a]. At last, in the midst of this anarchy, the news suddenly arrived that in two days[b] Cromwell would be at head-quarters; that, in the Isle of Wight, Hammond, the governor, being suspected of too much condescension to the king, had received orders from Fairfax[c]

[t] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1320.

[u] Whitelocke, p. 352; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1137-1141.

[x] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1279; Whitelocke, p. 335.

[y] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1289.

[z] October 29th; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebell., vol. ix. p. 190-193; Whitelocke, p. 341; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1315.

[a] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1279; Whitelocke, p. 335.

[b] December 2nd.

[c] November 25th.

to return to the army, and give up the guard of the king to colonel Ewers[d]; that the king on hearing this had been seized with fear, granted further concessions, and closed the conferences at Newport, and that on the same day[e], the commissioners, who were the bearers of his definitive offers, had left the island to bring them to parliament.

In fact they arrived the next day, most of them deeply affected by the peril in which they had left the king, and by his last farewell. "My lords," he said to them, "you are come to take leave of me, and I can scarcely hope that we shall ever meet again; but may the will of God be done! I give him thanks; I have reconciled myself with him; I will without fear suffer all that it shall please men to do with me. My lords, you cannot be ignorant that in my ruin you may already perceive your own approaching. I pray God that he may send you better friends than I have met with. I am not ignorant of the plot contrived against me and mine, and nothing afflicts me more than the sight of the sufferings of my people, and the contemplation of those evils prepared for them by men who are continually talking of public good, but who are only anxious to gratify their own ambition[f]." As soon as the com-

[d] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1133-1137.

[e] November 28th.

[f] The Works of king Charles the Martyr, London, 1662, p. 424.

missioners had made their report[g], though the king's present concessions differed but little from those they had so many times refused, the presbyterians proposed to the commons to declare them satisfactory, and fit to serve as a foundation for peace. The motion was even supported by Nathaniel Fiennes, the son of lord Say, and who but lately was one of the most violent among the independent leaders. The debate had already lasted several hours, when information was received of a letter from Fairfax to the common council, in which he announced that the army was marching towards London: "question! question!" immediately shouted the independents, zealously endeavouring to make the most of this alarm. But, contrary to their expectations, and notwithstanding all their efforts, the debate was adjourned till the next day[h]. It was resumed with more acrimony than ever, in the midst of the movements of the troops who poured in on all sides, and took up their quarters at St. James's, York house, and in the neighbourhood of Westminster and the city. The independents still hoped that the fears of their opponents would ensure their success: "To-day," said Vane, "we shall at length know who are our friends, and who are our enemies; or, to speak more clearly, we shall see who in this

[g] December 1st.

[h] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1143-1145.

house is of the king's party, and who of that of the people." "Mr. Speaker," quickly followed another member whose name is not known, "the member who has just spoken, has taken the liberty to divide this house into two parties; I shall, I hope, have the right to do the same. Yes, Sir, there are here men who wish for peace, and they are those who have lost by war; there are others who oppose peace, and they are those who have gained by war. I therefore humbly request that those who have gained, should indemnify those who have lost, to put us all on the same footing, without which there will be no means of ending it." The independents clamorously exclaimed against this, but with some embarrassment, for personal interests exercised a power among them which they themselves dared not deny. Rudyard, Stephens, Grimstone, Walker, Prideaux, Wroth, Scott, Corbet, and many others, alternately supported and opposed the motion, without the debate appearing to draw to a conclusion. Day declined; several members had already retired; an independent proposed to call for lights: "Mr. Speaker," said a presbyterian, "not only do these gentlemen hope to strike us with fear by the approach of the army, but they want to prolong the discussion all night, in the hope that the older members, who are considered to be the most inclined for peace, will be forced to retire from fatigue before the division comes on. I hope the house will

not consent to be the dupe of this artifice;" and notwithstanding the clamours of the independents the debate was again adjourned[j].

Two days after[k], when they met, a mysterious rumour disturbed the house; it was said on all sides that the king had been carried away in the night, in spite of his resistance, from the Isle of Wight and conducted to Hurst castle, a kind of prison, situated on the coast opposite the island, at the extremity of a barren, lonesome, and unhealthy promontory. Although they were requested to give an answer, the independent leaders remained silent. The debate began; the speaker read letters from Newport, addressed to the house by major Ralph, who commanded in the absence of Hammond. The rumour was true, and all intercourse between the king and the parliament was henceforward impossible without the consent of the army[l].

On the 29th of November, towards evening, a few hours after the conferences of Newport were over and the commissioners had departed, a man in disguise said to one of the king's servants: "Troops have just landed in the island; tell the king that he will be carried away to-night." Charles immediately sent for the duke of Richmond, the earl of Lindsey, and colonel Edward Cook, an

[j] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1145-1147; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 326.

[k] December 4th; the debate had been adjourned till the 4th because the next day was a Sunday.

[l] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1147, 1148.

officer who possessed his confidence, and asked them what he could do to ascertain whether the report were true or not. Nothing could be obtained from major Ralph but short and obscure answers: "The king may sleep quietly to-night; upon my life, no one shall disturb him to-night." Cook offered to mount his horse and ride round the coast, and particularly to go to Carisbrook, where it was said the troops had arrived, personally to ascertain what was going on. The night was dark, it rained heavily, and the service was a dangerous one; the king hesitated to accept it; but Cook insisted, and went accordingly. He found the garrison of Carisbrook reinforced; ten or twelve newly arrived officers were there, and captain Bowerman, who was the commander of the place, narrowly watched by the new comers; in short, an air of mysterious agitation seemed to prevail there. Cook was hastening with this information to the king, when, having reached Newport at about midnight, he perceived the house the king occupied to be surrounded with guards; there were some under every window, within the house, and even at the very door of the king's chamber, into which the smoke of their pipes penetrated. There was now no room for doubt; the two lords conjured the king to attempt an escape that very hour and at any risk. This counsel was not agreeable to the sensitive gravity of Charles; he alleged the difficulty, and how much it would irritate the army against him: "If they do take me," said

he, "they must spare me; neither party can firmly establish their triumph without my alliance." "Take care, Sir," said Lindsey, "these people do not guide themselves by such maxims; let your majesty remember Hampton Court." "Colonel," said Richmond to Cook, "how did you pass?" Cook. "I have the watchword." Richmond. "Could you enable me to pass too?" Cook. "I have no doubt of it." They went out, passed through all the stations, and returned without any interruption. The two lords, standing with the king near the window, passionately renewed their entreaties; the colonel, who was wet through, and dripping with rain, stood alone by the chimney: "Ned Cook," said the king, suddenly turning towards him, "what do you counsel me to do?" Cook hesitated to answer: "The king," he said, "has here his counsellors." "No, no, my dear Ned, I command you to give me your advice." Cook. "Well then, will your majesty allow me to address you a question?" The king. "Speak." Cook. "If I not only say, but prove to your majesty that the army intend to seize your person; if I add, that I have the watchword, horses waiting at hand, a boat at my service, now expecting me, that I am ready to accompany the king, that this dark night seems made on purpose, that I see no real obstacle, what would your majesty do?" Charles remained silent for a moment, then, shaking his head, he said: "No, they gave me their word, and I gave them mine, I will not run from it." Cook. "But Sir, I

presume that by 'they' and 'their' you mean the parliament; now, everything is changed; it is the army who want to throw your majesty into prison." The king. "No matter; I will not fly from my word: good night, Ned, good night, Lindsey; I am going to sleep as long as I can." Cook. "I fear it will not be long." The king. "As it please God." It was one o'clock; they went away, and Charles went to bed, only Richmond staying with him.

At break of day, knocks were heard at the door: "Who are you? what do you want?" asked Richmond. "We are officers of the army, who want to speak with the king." Richmond, however, did not open the door, waiting for the king to be dressed; the knocks were renewed with more violence: "Open the door," said Charles to the duke; and before he was out of bed, several officers, lieutenant-colonel Cobbett at the head of them, rushed into the room. "Sir," said Cobbett, "we have orders to take you from hence." The king. "Orders, from whom?" Cobbett. "From the army." The king. "Whither do you want to take me?" Cobbett. "To the castle." The king. "What castle?" Cobbett. "To the castle." The king. "The castle is no castle; I am ready to follow you to any castle, but name it." Cobbett consulted his companions, and at last answered, "To Hurst castle." The king turned towards Richmond, and said; "They could not find out a worse:" and then addressing Cobbett he said;

"Can I have none of my servants with me?" Cobbett. "Only those who are most indispensable." Charles named his valets Harrington and Herbert, and Mildmay his carver. Richmond went out to order breakfast, but before it was ready the horses arrived. "Sir," said Cobbett, "it is time to set out, you must go." The king got into the carriage without uttering a word, and Harrington, Herbert, and Mildmay along with him; Cobbett also came forward to get in, but Charles extended his foot to prevent him, and had the door closed immediately. They drove off under the escort of a detachment of horse: a little vessel was waiting at Yarmouth; the king embarked in it; and three hours after, he was shut up in Hurst castle, having no communication without, in a room so dark that candles were necessary during the day, and under the guard of colonel Ewers, a far rougher and more formidable jailer than Cobbett had been [m].

The presbyterians, when they heard this news, gave free vent to their indignation: "The house," they cried, "gave guarantees to the king for his safety and liberty as long as he should stay at Newport; they are dishonoured as well as lost, if they do not signally oppose this insolent rebellion." They voted accordingly that the king had been taken away without the knowledge or

[m] Colonel Cook's narrative in Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1344-1348; Herbert, Memoirs, p. 79-91; Parl. Hist., col. 1149-1151; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 271.

consent of the house; and the debate relative to peace was continued with renewed ardour. It had already lasted more than twelve hours; night was far advanced; although the assembly was still numerous, fatigue began to surmount the zeal of the feeble and aged; one man rose who was famous among the martyrs of public liberty, but who had only sat in the house for the last three weeks; that same Prynne, who, twelve years before, had endured so painful a struggle against the tyranny of Laud and the court[n]: "Mr. Speaker," said he, "every one knows that I am about to speak in favour of peace, and I am already accused of apostacy; alluding to the title of one of my works, I am already called the royal favourite. The following are the favours that I have ever received from his majesty or his party. Twice they had my ears cut off in the most barbarous manner; three times they sent me to the pillory, for two hours at a time; though my works were authorised, they caused them to be burnt before my own eyes by the hand of the hangman; twice they fined me 5000*l.*; they detained me eight years in prison without pens, ink, paper, or books except the bible, and without friends, scarcely allowing me food enough to support life. If any member in this house envy me these marks of royal favour, I consent to believe that he will not call me without reason an apostate or a fa-

[n] See the first volume of this work, p. 101.

vourite." He continued speaking for several hours after this; minutely discussing all the king's proposals, all the pretensions of the army; considering alternately, in all its different aspects, the present state of parliament and that of the country; being throughout grave without pedantry, pathetic without anger, evidently elevated by the energy and disinterestedness of his conscience above the passions of his sect, the faults of his own character, and the usual extent of his own talents. "Mr. Speaker," he said, before he concluded, "it is said that if we displease the army we are lost; one of their leaders has just declared to us that they would lay down their arms and serve us no longer; and then, it is urged, what would become of us and our faithful friends? If such were the case, I own I should but little prize the protection of servants inconstant and mutinous to such a degree as this; I make no doubt that if the army forsook us, God and the kingdom would be with us; and if we can conclude this treaty with the king, I hope that henceforward we shall not stand in need of the services of the army. Be it as it will, *fiat justitia, ruat cœlum;* let us do our duty, and leave the event to God." The house had listened attentively and with the deepest emotion to this speech; it was nine o'clock in the morning; the debate had lasted twenty-four hours; two hundred and forty-four members were still sitting; at length they voted; and one hundred and forty voices against one hundred

and four declared that the king's proposals were such as would serve for a foundation to the settlement of peace [o].

The independents once more lost all sway; they could no longer hope that fear would assist their endeavours; all those members who could be influenced by it had retired or conceded. In vain did Ludlow, Hutchinson, and a few others, in order to throw the house into some confusion, ask to protest against the decision; their wish was opposed as being contrary to the customs of the house, and no disquietude was manifested as to the importance they wished to give it [p]. As soon as they had left the house, the party leaders met; a great number of officers, who had arrived from head-quarters in the morning, came and joined them: the peril was imminent, but being masters of the army they had that at their command with which they could oppose it; whether as sincere fanatics or as ambitious libertines, no institutions, laws, nor customs any longer inspired them with respect; for the fanatics thought it a duty to save the good cause, and the others felt impelled by necessity. It was agreed that the moment was come; and six of those present, three members of the house and three officers, were charged to prepare in order to ensure the success of their design. They

[o] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1151-1240; Walker, Hist of Independency, part 2, p. 15.

[p] Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 327; Mrs. Hutchinson, Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 185.

passed several hours together with a list of the commons on the table, examining individually the conduct and principles of every member, collecting information and sending orders to their confidants. The next day, the 6th of December, at seven o'clock in the morning, without Fairfax's being informed of any thing, the troops, by the care of Ireton, were on the march. With Skippon's consent the stations of militia, whose office it was to guard the house, were removed; two regiments, one of infantry, commanded by colonel Pride, the other of horse, commanded by colonel Rich, occupied the yard, the great Westminster hall, the stairs, vestibule, and every access to the house. At the door of the commons stood Pride himself, with a list of proscribed members in his hand; and near him lord Grey of Groby, and an usher, who took care to point every one out to him as fast as they arrived: "You shall not go in," said Pride to every one of them; and some of the most suspected were seized and taken away. A violent tumult soon arose all round the house; the expelled members endeavoured by every means to gain a passage, alleging their right, and challenging the soldiers, who merely laughed with derision. Some, Prynne amongst others, showed an obstinate resistance; "I will not go back a step," said he, "of my own accord;" and some officers pushed him insultingly to the bottom of the stairs, delighted to join brutality to the triumph of force. Forty-one members were arrested in this man-

ner, and shut up for the present in two neighbouring rooms; many others were expelled without being arrested. Only two among those who were named in Pride's list, Stephens and colonel Birch, had succeeded in gaining an entrance; they were called to the door under some false pretence, and immediately seized by soldiers. "Mr. Speaker," cried Birch, endeavouring to get into the house again, "will the house suffer their members to be thus driven out before their own eyes, and continue to sit motionless?" The house sent their sergeant-at-arms to give orders to the members who were without to return to their seats; Pride detained them: the sergeant was sent a second time, but could not get to them. The house decided that they would not proceed to business until he returned, and appointed a committee to go and demand him of the general. The committee were scarcely gone out, when a message arrived from the army, presented by lieutenant-colonel Axtell and a few officers; they claimed the official exclusion of the arrested members, and of all those who had voted for peace. The house returned no answer, waiting the result of the demand by the committee. The committee brought back word that the general in his turn refused to send an answer until the house had come to some decision on the message of the army. In the meantime, the expelled members had been taken away from Westminster and led from place to place through the streets of London, sometimes

crowded into carts, at others walking in the mud, surrounded by soldiers, who demanded that they should give them some account of their arrears. Hugh Peters, a preacher, and chaplain to Fairfax, came solemnly, by the general's command, with his sword by his side, to take down their names; being summoned by most of them to say by what right they were arrested, he answered, "by the right of the sword." They entreated Pride to hear them; but he said he had no time, and had other things to do. Fairfax and his council, who were sitting at Whitehall, at last promised to give them an audience: they went thither; but after having waited several hours, the officers came out to tell them the general was too busy and could not receive them. Some perplexity was blended with all this contempt; their presence was avoided; it was feared that their insurmountable obstinacy would excite too much rigour. The conquerors, notwithstanding the audacity of their designs and actions, still retained in their hearts, without suspecting it themselves, a secret respect for the ancient and legal order of things; in drawing up the list of members to be expelled, they had strictly confined themselves to the limits of necessity, hoping that this expulsion would be sufficient. They saw with anxiety the house obstinately claiming their members, and their adversaries still retaining a powerful party, perhaps even the majority. But hesitation was impossible: they resolved to begin again. The

next day, the 7th, the troops once more placed themselves at every avenue leading to the house, and the same scene was renewed; forty more members were expelled; several were arrested in their own houses. They wrote to the house to ask for their liberty; but this time the defeat of the presbyterians was completed; instead of answering, the house received, by forty voices against twenty-eight, the motion of taking the proposals of the army into consideration. This minority retired of their own accord, protesting that they would not return to the house until justice should be done to their colleagues; and after the expulsion of one hundred and forty-three members, who for the most part were not arrested, or were liberated at intervals, and without remark, the republicans and the army were at length in full possession of power in Westminster as well as elsewhere [q].

From that day everything gave way and all remained silent; no resistance, not a single voice disturbed the party in the intoxication of their victory; they alone spoke and acted in the kingdom, and perhaps believed in the universal submission or consent of the nation. Fanatical enthusiasm now attained its highest pitch: "Like Moses," said Hugh Peters to the

[q] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1240-1249; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1353-1356; Whitelocke, p. 354, 355; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 328-335; Mrs. Hutchinson, Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 185-190; Fairfax, Memoirs, p. 411, 412; Walker, Hist. of Independency, part 2, p. 29, etc.

generals, as he preached to the remnant of the two houses, "Like Moses, you are destined to take the people out of the bondage of Egypt: how will this design be accomplished? that is what has not yet been revealed." He put his head in his hands, leant down on a cushion which was placed before him, and, getting up all at once, he exclaimed: "This, this is revelation, and I will communicate it to you! This army will extirpate monarchy, not only from this kingdom, but from France and the other kingdoms that surround us; this is how they will bring you out of Egypt. It is said that we enter on a track till now untrodden, and in which none have shown us an example: what think you of the Virgin Mary? was there ever, before her, an instance of a woman's conceiving without holding any intercourse with man? this is a time that will serve as an example to future times[r];" and the mob of the party gave themselves up with delight to this mystic pride. In the midst of so much excitement, on the very day when the remaining presbyterians retired from the commons[s], Cromwell came and took his seat there. "God is my witness," he repeated everywhere, "that I have not known anything of what has lately been transacted in this house; but since the deed is done, I am glad of

[r] Walker, Hist. of Independency, part 2, p. 49, 50; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1252.

[s] December 7th.

it; and now it must be supported[t]." The house received him with the most brilliant demonstrations of gratitude. The speaker officially addressed thanks to him for his campaign in Scotland; and when he left the house, he took up his lodgings at Whitehall, in the king's own apartments[u]. The next day, the army seized the cash belonging to several committees, being forced, they said, to provide for their own wants in order to be no longer a burden to the country[x]. Three days after[y] they sent Fairfax a plan of a republican government under the title of 'A new Agreement of the People;' it was said to be composed by Ireton, and they requested of Fairfax that it should be discussed in the council of officers, who would afterwards present it to parliament[z]. In the meantime, without taking the trouble of asking the consent of the lords, the commons repealed all the decrees and votes which had been lately adopted in favour of peace, and that would have placed obstacles in the way of the revolution[a]. At last, petitions reappeared requesting that the king, who was guilty of so much bloodshed[b], should be brought to trial; and a detachment

[t] Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 336.

[u] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1246; Walker, Hist. of Independency, part 2, p. 34; Whitelocke, p. 357.

[x] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1356.

[y] December 11th.

[z] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1358, 1365.

[a] December 12th and 13th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1247-1249.

[b] Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1372.

was sent from head-quarters, with orders to bring him from Hurst castle to Windsor.

On the 17th, in the middle of the night, Charles was awakened by the noise of the drawbridge, which was lowered, and a troop of horsemen entered the castle yard. In a few moments all was again silent: but Charles was disturbed; before it was light, he rang for Herbert, who slept in the adjoining room: "Did you hear nothing to-night?" he inquired: "I heard the drawbridge lowered," said Herbert; "but I dared not, without your majesty's orders, go out of my room at so unseasonable an hour." "Go and inquire who is arrived." Herbert went, and soon returning, said it was colonel Harrison. A sudden agitation appeared on the king's countenance; "Are you sure," he said, "that it is colonel Harrison?" Herbert. "It was captain Reynolds told me so." The king. "Then I believe it; but did you see the colonel?" Herbert. "No, Sir." The king. "Did Reynolds tell you for what purpose he came?" Herbert. "I did all in my power to ascertain, but the only answer I could obtain was, that the motive of his coming would soon be known." The king sent Herbert away, and then recalled him in about an hour after; he was still deeply agitated, with tears in his eyes, and an air of great despondency: "I beg pardon," said Herbert, "but I am dismayed to find your majesty so much grieved by this news." "I am not frightened," said Charles, "but what you cannot know is that this man is

the same who had formed the project of murdering me during the last negotiations. A letter informed me of it. I do not remember having ever seen him or done him any injury. I would not be taken by surprise. This place is just fit for such a crime. Return, and ask again what has brought Harrison hither." Herbert, this time more fortunate, learnt that the colonel was come to take the king to Windsor, in three days at latest; and he hastened to inform Charles of it: "Well and good," he answered, his eyes brightening with joy, "what do they at last become less obdurate? Windsor is a place where I always enjoyed myself; it will make up for what I have suffered here."

In fact, two days after, lieutenant-colonel Cobbett came to tell the king that he had orders to take him immediately to Windsor, whither Harrison was already gone. Charles, far from disliking it, hastened the departure himself. At three miles from Hurst he met with a body of horse, who were charged to accompany him to Winchester. Everywhere on his road he met with a crowd of gentlemen, citizens, and peasants; some of them, who had come from mere curiosity, retired after they had seen him pass, others were deeply affected, and prayed aloud for his liberty. When he arrived at Winchester, the mayor and aldermen came to meet him, and, according to custom, presented him the mace and keys of the city, with a speech full of affection. But Cobbett, rudely pushing his way to-

wards them, asked them if they had forgotten that the house had declared whoever should address the king to be a traitor; and, seized with terror, they poured forth many humble excuses, protesting they were ignorant of the will of parliament, and conjuring Cobbett to obtain their pardon. The next day the king continued his journey. Between Alresford and Farnham another corps of cavalry were waiting to take the place of those who had accompanied him thus far; the officer in command was good-looking and richly equipped, wearing a velvet cap, a buff coat, and a fringed scarf of crimson silk. Charles, struck with his countenance, passed slowly by him, and received a respectful salute. "Pray who is that officer?" said the king, when he had overtaken Herbert. "Colonel Harrison, Sir." The king immediately turned round and viewed him so long and so attentively that the colonel, confused, retired behind the troops to avoid his scrutiny. "That man," said Charles, "has the air of a true soldier; I understand physiognomies, his I like; he is no murderer." In the evening, at Farnham, where they stopped to sleep, Charles saw the colonel in a corner of the room; he beckoned him to approach; Harrison obeyed with deference and confusion, with an air at once rude and timid; the king took him by the arm, led him near a window, and conversed for nearly an hour with him; he even spoke of the information he had received concerning him: "Nothing can be more false," said

Harrison; "this is what I said, and I can repeat it: it is, 'that justice should pay no respect to persons, and that the law is alike for great and small;'" and he pronounced the last words with marked emphasis. The king broke off the discourse, sat down to table, and did not again address himself to Harrison, though he did not appear to attach any meaning which alarmed him to what he had said.

He was to reach Windsor the next day; on his way thither he declared that he would stop at Bagshot, in the middle of the forest, to dine at lord Newburgh's, one of his most faithful cavaliers. Harrison dared not refuse, though so much eagerness inspired him with some suspicion. It was not without foundation; lord Newburgh, who was a great amateur of horses, had one which was considered the fleetest in all England; he had long held a correspondence with the king, and persuaded him to lame the horse he rode, promising him one with which he could easily escape suddenly from his escort and baffle all pursuit in the paths of the forest, with which the king was well acquainted. Accordingly, from Farnham to Bagshot the king did nothing but complain of his horse, saying that he would change it. But he had no sooner arrived, than he heard that the one which he reckoned upon had been so severely kicked in the stable, that it was incapable of serving him. Lord Newburgh, much grieved by this accident, offered others to the king, which he said were excellent and would

serve his purpose the same. But even with the fleetest the enterprise was dangerous; for the horsemen kept very close to the king, and each of them carried a cocked pistol in his hand. Charles easily abandoned the thought of running such risks; and in the evening when he arrived at Windsor, was delighted to re-enter one of his own palaces, to occupy his own chamber, and find all things prepared to receive him in nearly the same order as they used to be when he came with his court to spend some holidays in that beautiful place. Far from being tormented by any sinister presages, he seemed almost to have forgotten that he was a prisoner[u].

The same day[x], almost at the same hour, the commons voted that he should be brought to trial, and appointed a committee to prepare his accusation. Notwithstanding the small number of members present, several voices opposed the measure. Some asked that he should be deposed, as some of his predecessors had been; others, without expressing it, would have wished that he should be privately assassinated, in order to reap advantage by his death without incurring any responsibility: But the boldest libertines, the sincere fanatics, and the rigid republicans, would have a solemn, public trial, which should

[u] Herbert, Memoirs, p. 93-104; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 289-292; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1375; Whitelocke, p. 359.

[x] December 23rd; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1252.

prove their power, and proclaim their right[y]. Cromwell alone, who was more zealous than any other to promote this result, still took hypocritical measures in speaking of it. "If any one," he said[z], "made this motion from a premeditated design, I should regard him as the most signal traitor in the world; but since Providence and necessity have thrown the house into this deliberation, I pray God to bless its counsels, though I am not ready to give my advice immediately." By one of those strange but unconquerable scruples, in which iniquity betrays itself in seeking a disguise, not to bring the king to trial without a law in the name of which he could be condemned, the house voted[a] that the king was guilty of treason for having made war against the parliament; and on the motion of Scott[b], an ordinance was directly adopted, instituting a high court of justice[c] to try him. One hundred and fifty commissioners were to compose it: six peers, three great judges, eleven baronets, ten knights, six aldermen of London, all the important men of the party, in the army, the commons, and the city, except St. John and Vane, who formally declared that they disapproved of the deed, and would not take any part in it.

[y] Whitelocke, p. 358; Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 283.

[z] Walker, Hist. of Independency, part 2, p. 54.

[a] January 2nd; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1253.

[b] Walker, Hist. of Independency, part 2, p. 55.

[c] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1254.

When this ordinance was presented to the upper house[d], pride seemed to revive in that assembly which had till then appeared so servile that they seemed to acknowledge their own nothingness: "There is no parliament without the king," repeated lord Manchester, "therefore the king cannot commit treason against parliament." "It has pleased the commons," said lord Denbigh, "to insert my name in their ordinance; but I would be torn in pieces rather than take part in such an infamous proceeding." "I do not like," said the earl of Pembroke, "to concern myself with affairs of life and death; I shall not speak against this ordinance, but I will not consent to it;" and the twelve lords who were present unanimously rejected it[e]. The next day, receiving no message from the lords, the commons charged two of their members to go to the upper house, and to have its journals laid before them, and bring them information of their resolution[f]. On receiving it[g], they immediately voted that the opposition of the lords should not prevent their determination; that the people being, after God, the source of all legitimate power, the English commons, being elected by, and the representatives of, the people of England, they possessed sovereign power; and by another ordinance[h], the high court of justice, appointed in

[d] January 2nd.
[e] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1256.
[f] Ibid.
[g] January 4th.
[h] January 6th; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1257.

the name of the commons only, and reduced to one hundred and thirty-five members[1], received orders to meet without delay to regulate the preparations of the trial.

They met accordingly with this design, and in private, on the 8th, 10th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 17th, 18th, and 19th of January, under the presidence of John Bradshaw, a cousin of Milton's, and an esteemed lawyer, grave and mild in his manners, but of an austere, narrow mind; a sincere fanatic, and yet ambitious, inclined to avarice, and yet ready to lay down his life for his opinions. Such was the state of the public mind, that an insurmountable division prevailed even in this court; no summons, no effort succeeded in assembling more than fifty-eight members in these preparatory meetings; Fairfax went the first time, but no more. Even among the members present, some only came to declare their opposition: among these was Algernon Sidney, who was then very young, but already influential in the republican party. He had retired for some time to Penhurst castle, the seat of his father, lord Leicester; when he heard of his nomination in

[1] The suppression of six peers and the three great judges brought the primitive number of commissioners to one hundred and forty-one; two lawyers, Bradshaw and Nicholas, were added to it, which brought it to one hundred and forty-three. Yet the second ordinance contained only one hundred and thirty-five names; so there were probably other exceptions which they did not take the trouble to explain. Alderman Rowland Wilson, for instance, refused to participate in the trial, and his name is not found on the second list. Whitelocke, p. 363.

the high court, he immediately went to London, and in the meetings of the 13th, 15th, and 19th of January, though the question appeared decided, he warmly opposed the trial. What he more particularly dreaded was that the people would take an aversion for the republic, perhaps that they would even raise a sudden insurrection, which would save the king and lose the commonwealth beyond retrieve: "No one will stir," cried Cromwell, who was importuned by these presages; "I tell you we will cut his head off, with the crown upon it." "Do what you please," answered Sidney, "I cannot prevent you; but I certainly will have nothing to do with this affair;" and he went out and never returned [k]. Being at length reduced to those members who accepted their mission, the whole business of the court was to regulate the form of the trial. John Coke, a counsellor of some renown, and the intimate friend of Milton, was appointed attorney-general, and as such was charged to speak in drawing up the act of accusation, as well as in the course of the debates. Elsing, who had till then been clerk of the commons, having retired under pretence of illness, Henry Scobell was appointed in his place. They carefully selected what regiments, and how many should be on service in the course of the trial; where the sentinels should be stationed, and some were

[k] Leicester's Journal, by Blencowe, p. 237; Godwin, Hist. of the Commonwealth, vol. ii. p. 669.

placed even on the leads, and at every window which looked out from the hall; they settled as to what barriers should be raised to keep the people away, not only from the tribunal, but also from the soldiers. The 20th of January was the day appointed for the king to appear before the court at Westminster hall; and so early as the 17th, as if his condemnation had already been pronounced, the commons had charged a committee to visit the palaces, castles, and residences of the king to draw up an exact inventory of his furniture, which henceforth was the property of parliament[l].

When colonel Whitchcott, the governor of Windsor, told the king that in a few days he would be taken to London: "God is everywhere," answered Charles, "and in all places the same in power and goodness[m]." Yet the news seized him with great and sudden anxiety; he had lived for the last three weeks in the most astonishing security, being rarely and badly informed of the resolutions of the house, comforting himself with some reports from Ireland which promised him speedy assistance, and appearing more gay and confiding than his servants had for a long time seen him: "In six months," he said, "peace will be re-established in England; if not, I shall receive from Ireland, Denmark, and other king-

[l] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1259; State Trials, vol. iv. col. 1045-1067; Trial of Charles the First, in the Collection.

[m] Herbert, Memoirs, p. 108.

doms, the means of regaining my rights[n];" and another day he said: "I have three more cards to play, with the worst of which I may regain everything[o]." And yet one circumstance had lately disturbed him; almost till the end of his sojourn at Windsor he had been treated and served with all the etiquette of court; he dined in public, in the hall of state, under a canopy; his chamberlain, steward, carver, and cup-bearer performed their usual offices in the accustomed manner; the cup was presented to him kneeling, the dishes were brought in covered, they were tasted, and he gravely enjoyed these solemn respects. But all at once, on the reception of a letter from head-quarters, this order was totally changed; the soldiers brought the dishes in uncovered, they were no longer tasted, none knelt to him, the habitual etiquette of the canopy ceased. Charles was bitterly grieved by this change: "The respects which are denied me," said he, "have never yet been refused to a sovereign, nor even to a subject of an elevated rank; is there anything more contemptible than a despised prince?" and to avoid this insult he took his meals in his room, almost by himself, choosing three or four dishes from among the list of those which were presented to him[p].

On Friday, the 19th of January, a troop of

[n] Whitelocke, p. 361.

[o] Leicester's Journal; Godwin, History of the Commonwealth, p. 660.

[p] Herbert, Memoirs, p. 109-113.

horse, commanded by Harrison, appeared at Windsor, who were charged to bring away the king; a coach and six horses waited in the yard of the castle; Charles entered it, and a few hours after he was once more in London, at St. James's palace, surrounded on all sides by guards; two sentinels were even placed at the door of his chamber; Herbert alone was left to serve him, and slept by his bed side[q].

The next day, the 20th, about noon, the high court, having first met in private in the painted chamber, were preparing to regulate the last details of their mission; they had scarcely finished their customary prayers, when it was announced that the king was coming, in a closed sedan, between two ranks of soldiers; Cromwell ran to the window, and suddenly returned, looking very pale, yet at the same time very animated: "Here he is! here he is! gentlemen," he cried; "the hour of the great affair approaches. I beseech you to decide speedily what answer you will give him, for he will immediately ask by what authority you pretend to judge him." No one answered; at last Henry Martyn[r] said: "In the name of the commons assembled in parliament, and of all the good people of England." No one made any objection. The court then began their march with great solemnity towards the

[q] Herbert, Memoirs, p. 109; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1395; State Trials, vol. v. col. 1019; Nutley's evidence in Harrison's trial.

[r] State Trials, vol. v. col. 1201; Sir Purbeck Temple's evidence in the trial of Henry Martyn.

great hall of Westminster. Bradshaw, the president, went first; before him were carried the sword and mace; sixteen officers, armed with partisans, preceded the court. The president took his seat on a chair of crimson velvet which had been prepared for him; at his feet sat the recorder, near a table covered with a rich Turkey carpet, on which were placed the sword and mace; on the right and left sat the members of the court, on seats of scarlet cloth; at the two extremities were armed men, who stood rather forwarder than the tribunal. When the court had taken their seats, the doors were opened and the crowd rushed in; when silence was restored, and after the act of the commons which had instituted the court had been read, the names of the court were called over; there were sixty-nine members present. Bradshaw then gave orders that the prisoner should be brought in[a].

The king appeared, under the guard of colonel Hacker and thirty-two officers; a chair of crimson velvet was placed for him at the bar: he advanced, cast a long and severe look on the tribunal, sat down in the chair without removing his hat from his head, and suddenly rising again he looked behind him at the guard placed at the left and the crowd of spectators at the right of the hall; then again turning his eyes towards

[a] Most of the facts connected with the king's trial are taken from the cotemporary accounts inserted in the State Trials, vol. iv. col. 989-1154, to which the reader is referred once for all.

his judges, he sat down in the midst of the deepest silence.

Bradshaw rose immediately: "Charles Stuart, king of England," said he, "the English commons now assembled in parliament, deeply penetrated with the feeling of the evils which have been brought upon this nation, and of which you are considered the principal author, have resolved to prosecute the crime of blood; in this intention, they have appointed this high court of justice, before which you now appear. You are now about to hear the charges brought against you."

The attorney-general, Coke, then rose to speak: "Silence!" said the king, touching him with his cane on the shoulder; Coke, surprised and irritated, turned round; the head of the king's cane fell off; a short but violent emotion appeared on his features; none of his servants were near enough to pick it up; he stooped, took it up himself, sat down, and Coke read the act of accusation, which imputed to the king all the evils produced, first by his tyranny, and then by war, and demanded that he should be obliged to answer the charges brought against him, and that justice should be done him as a tyrant, a traitor, and a murderer.

While this was reading, the king, who was still seated, cast his eyes placidly sometimes on the judges, sometimes on the public; once he got up, turned his back to the tribunal to look behind him, and sat down with an air at once of

curiosity and indifference. He was seen to smile when the words "Charles Stuart, tyrant, traitor, and murderer," were read, but he still kept silence.

When Coke had finished, "Sir," said Bradshaw to the king, "you have heard the act of your accusation; the court wait your answer."

The king. "I should like to know by whose authority I am called here. A short time ago I was in the Isle of Wight, negotiating with both houses of parliament under the guarantee of public faith. We were on the point of concluding a treaty. I should like to know by what authority, I mean legal authority, for there are many illegal authorities in the world, such as that of thieves and highwaymen; I should like to know, I say, by what authority I have been brought from thence and taken from place to place, I know not with what intention. When I shall be acquainted with this legal authority, I will answer."

Bradshaw. "If you had pleased to pay attention to what the court said on your arrival, you would know that authority. They request you, in the name of the English people, of whom you were elected king, to answer."

The king. "No, Sir, this I deny."

Bradshaw. "If you do not acknowledge the authority of the court, they will immediately proceed against you."

The king. "I tell you, England never was an elective kingdom, but has been for more than a

thousand years an hereditary kingdom. Inform me, then, by what authority I am summoned here. There is lieutenant-colonel Cobbett, ask him whether it was not by force that he brought me from the Isle of Wight. I will uphold, more than any one here present, the just privileges of the house of commons. Where are the lords? I do not see that there are any lords present to constitute a parliament[t]. A king also would be necessary. Is this what you call bringing the king to his parliament?"

Bradshaw. "Sir, the court are waiting for your definitive answer. If what we tell you of our authority is not sufficient for you, it is sufficient for us; we know that it is founded on the authority of God and the kingdom."

The king. "It is neither my opinion nor yours that is to decide."

Bradshaw. "The court have heard you; you will be disposed of according to their orders. Take away the prisoner. The court adjourns to next Monday."

The court retired; the king went away, escorted in the same manner as when he came. When he got up he perceived the sword placed upon the table. "I do not fear that," said he, pointing to it with his staff. As he went down stairs a few voices were heard to cry: "Justice! Justice!" but a far greater number cried: "God save the king! God save your majesty!"

[t] State Trials, vol. v. col. 1081; in Coke's trial, evidence given by Nutley.

At the next meeting, sixty-two members were present; the court commanded that perfect silence should be kept under pain of imprisonment. Yet when the king arrived he was hailed with loud acclamations. The same discussion was renewed on both sides with the same obstinacy: at last Bradshaw said; "Neither you, Sir, nor any one else will be allowed to dispute the jurisdiction of this court; they sit here by the authority of the commons of England, to whom you and all your predecessors are responsible."

The king. "I deny it; show me a precedent." Bradshaw rose angrily, and said: "Sir, we do not sit here to answer your questions; answer the accusation, Guilty or not Guilty[u]."

The king. "You have not yet heard my reasons."

Bradshaw. "Sir, you have no reasons to give against the highest of all jurisdictions."

The king. "Then show me this jurisdiction in which reason is not heard."

Bradshaw. "Sir, we show it to you here; it is the commons of England. Sergeant, take away the prisoner."

The king turned suddenly round towards the people, and said: "Remember that the king of England is condemned without being allowed to give his reasons in favour of the liberty of the

[u] State Trials, vol. v. col. 1086, in the trial of the regicides, and particularly in that of Coke; John Herne's evidence.

English people!" he was answered by an almost general cry of "God save the king[x]!"

At the next day's meeting, January 23rd, the same scenes were renewed; the sympathy of the people for the king became daily greater; in vain the officers and the soldiers shouted in their turn, the threatening cry of "Justice! Execution!" the frightened crowd were silent for a moment, but upon some fresh incident they forgot their alarm, and "God save the king!" echoed on all sides. It was even heard from the ranks of the army: on the 23rd, as the king left the hall, a soldier of the guard cried as he passed, "God bless you, Sir!" an officer struck him with his staff; "Sir," said the king, "the punishment exceeds the offence[y]." At the same time remonstrances and proceedings in his favour arrived from abroad; not very alarming, it is true, and often not very urgent, but still they fanned the flame of public indignation. The French minister delivered a letter from the queen to the commons[z], in which she solicited permission to come and join her husband, either to persuade him to yield to their wishes or to bestow on him the consolations of affection[a]. The prince of Wales also wrote to Fairfax and the council of officers, in the hope of awakening some feeling of loyalty in their breasts[b]. The

[x] State Trials, vol. v. col. 1086.
[y] Herbert, Memoirs, p. 118.
[z] January 3rd.
[a] Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ix. p. 282.
[b] Ibid., p. 296.

Scottish commissioners officially protested in the name of their kingdom against all that was going on[c]. The approaching arrival of an extraordinary embassy from the States, sent to intercede in the king's favour, was announced. John Cromwell, an officer in the service of the Dutch and Oliver Cromwell's cousin, was already in London, loading the lieutenant-general with almost threatening reproaches[d]. The printing of a manuscript said to be written by the king himself, and calculated to raise the people in his defence, was discovered, and its publication prevented[e]. In a word, on all sides, if not great obstacles, at least new causes of fermentation arose, which the republicans thought would certainly disappear as soon as the question should be decided, but which, as long as it remained in suspense, rendered every day's delay more perplexing and perilous.

They resolved to be relieved immediately from this situation, to put an end to further debates, and that the king should only appear again to receive his sentence. Whether through a lingering respect for legal forms, or to produce, if required, new proofs of Charles's dishonesty in the negotiations, the court employed the 24th

[c] The 6th and 22nd of January; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1277, etc.

[d] Banks, Critical Review, etc., p. 103; Mark Noble, Memoirs of the Protectoral House, etc., vol. i. p. 50; Ludlow, Memoirs, vol. i. p. 340, in the note. See the Collection.

[e] This was the famous Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, which has been attributed to Gauden, bishop of Exeter.

and 25th in collecting evidence from thirty-two witnesses. On the 25th, before they dispersed, the king's condemnation as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and enemy of the country, was voted almost without any discussion. Scott, Martyn, Harrison, Lisle, Say, Ireton, and Love, were charged to draw up the sentence. There were only forty-six members sitting that day. On the 26th, sixty-two members being assembled in private, the revision of the sentence was debated and adopted. The court adjourned the pronouncing of it to the following day. On the 27th, at twelve o'clock, after two hours' conference in the painted chamber, the sitting began, according to custom, by calling over the names: when Fairfax's was called, the voice of a woman was heard to answer from one of the boxes, "he has more wit than to be here:" after a moment's surprise and hesitation the rest of the names were called: sixty-seven members were present. When the king entered the hall a violent cry of "Execution! Justice! Execution!" was raised. The soldiers were very animated; Axtell in particular, who commanded the guard, excited their shouts; a few groups who were scattered about the hall joined in these clamours; but the crowd were silent, and full of consternation.

"Sir," said the king to Bradshaw before he sat down, "I shall ask to speak a word; I hope I shall not give you occasion to interrupt me."

Bradshaw. "You shall answer in your turn; first listen to the court."

The king. "Sir, if you please, I desire to be heard. It is but one word. An immediate judgment . . . . ."

Bradshaw. "Sir, you shall be heard in due time; you are first to hear the court."

The king. "Sir, I desire . . . . what I have to say is concerning that which the court is, I think, about to pronounce; and it is not easy, Sir, to recall a hurried judgment."

Bradshaw. "You will be heard, Sir, before judgment is passed. Till then you are to abstain from speaking."

On hearing this promise some serenity reappeared on the king's countenance; he sat down; Bradshaw then said:

"Gentlemen, you are well acquainted that the prisoner at the bar has several times been brought before the court to answer a charge of high treason and other great crimes, brought against him in the name of the people of England—"

"Not one half of them," cried the same voice which had answered when the name of Fairfax was called: "Where are the people? Where is their consent? Oliver Cromwell is a traitor!"

The whole assembly were startled: all eyes were turned towards the box. "Down with the —," cried Axtell; "Soldiers, fire at them!" It was soon discovered to be lady Fairfax [e].

[e] State Trials, col. 1150; evidence of Sir Purbeck Temple; Whitelocke, p. 366. It was by mistake that he relates this scene in the sitting of the 22nd of January.

A general disturbance arose: the soldiers, although they were dispersed in every direction, had great trouble to repress it: when order was a little re-established, Bradshaw dwelt upon the king's obstinate refusal to answer the accusation, the notoriety of the crimes that were imputed to him, and declared that the court were agreed as to the sentence, but yet consented to hear the prisoner's defence, provided he would desist from denying their right of jurisdiction.

"I ask," said the king, "to be heard in the painted chamber, by the lords and commons, on a proposal which is of far greater importance to the peace of the kingdom and the liberty of my subjects than it is to my own conservation."

A great agitation prevailed in the court: friends and enemies all endeavoured to find out with what intention the king requested this conference with the two houses, and what he could have to propose to them; a thousand different reports were in circulation; the greater part seemed to believe that he wished to abdicate the crown in favour of his son. But whatever it was, the perplexity of the court was extreme; the party, notwithstanding their triumph, did not feel safe either in losing time or running fresh hazards; among the judges themselves, some indecision was perceptible. To avoid the peril, Bradshaw maintained that the king's request was but an artifice still to escape the jurisdiction of the court; a long and subtle debate was entered into among them on this subject. Charles

still insisted, more urgently than ever, to be heard; but every time he made the request the soldiers became more and more noisy and abusive around him; some lit their pipes, and blew the smoke towards him; others murmured in vulgar expressions at the slowness of the trial; Axtell laughed and joked aloud. In vain the king several times turned towards them, endeavouring sometimes by gestures and sometimes by words to obtain a few moments of attention, or at least of silence: he was answered by the cries of "Justice! Execution!" Agitated almost beyond his power of endurance, "Hear me! Hear me!" he cried, in an impassioned tone: the same shouts continued[f]: an unexpected movement took place in the ranks of the court. Colonel Downs, one of the members, became violently agitated in his chair; in vain his two neighbours, Cawley and colonel Wanton, used their efforts to compose him: "Have we, then, hearts of stone?" he said; "Are we men?" "You will ruin us, and yourself with us," said Cawley. "No matter," replied Downs, "if I were to die for it I must do it." On hearing this, Cromwell, who sat beneath him, suddenly turned round: "Colonel," said he, "are you in your senses? What are you thinking of? Can't you sit still?" "No," answered Downs, "I cannot sit still;" and immediately rising, he said

[f] State Trials, vol. v. col. 1150, 1151; in Axtell's trial.

to the president: "My lord, my conscience is not enlightened enough to allow me to oppose the prisoner's request; I move that the court should retire and deliberate." "Since a member requires it," gravely answered Bradshaw, "the court must retire;" and they immediately passed into an adjoining room.

They were no sooner there than Cromwell rudely addressed the colonel, upbraiding him for the trouble and disturbance he had occasioned the court. Downs defended himself with confusion, alleging that the king's proposals would perhaps be satisfactory; that, after all, what had been sought for, and was sought for still, were good and solid guarantees; that those which the king wished to offer should not be refused before they were known; that they could do no less than hear him, and respect, in his case, the simplest rules of common justice. Cromwell heard him with rude impatience, moving round him while he spoke, and interrupting him at every word: "At last," he said, "we are informed of the colonel's great reasons for disturbing us in this manner; he does not know that he has to do with the most inflexible being in the world; is it proper that the court should be disturbed and crossed by the obstinacy of one man? We see the aim of all this; he would fain save his old master; let us make an end of it, return to the hall, and do our duty." In vain colonel Harvey and a few others supported the wish of Downs; the discussion was

hastily repressed; and after one half hour, the court returned, and Bradshaw declared to the king that they refused his proposals[g].

Charles appeared overcome, and no longer urgently insisted: "If you have nothing to add," said Bradshaw, "we shall proceed to pass sentence." "I shall say no more," replied the king; "I only desire that what I have said may be recorded." Bradshaw, without answering, told him he was now about to hear his sentence; but before he read it, he addressed a long speech to the king, a solemn apology for the conduct of parliament, in which all the king's errors were recalled, and all the evils of the civil war attributed to him alone, since his tyranny had made resistance a duty as well as a necessity. The orator's speech was harsh and bitter, but at the same time pious and free from insult; his conviction was evidently deep, though blended with some degree of vindictiveness. The king listened without interrupting him, and with a gravity as great as his own. Yet as he proceeded with the speech, a visible agitation seized him; as soon as Bradshaw was silent he attempted to speak. Bradshaw opposed it, and gave orders to the recorder to read the sentence; when he had done: "This is," he said, "the unanimous decree, opinion, and judgment of the court;" and the whole court stood up in sign of assent. "Sir," suddenly ex-

[g] State Trials, vol. v. col. 1197, 1205, 1211, 1218; in the trials of Harvey, Robert Lilburne, Downs, and Wayte, from the narrative of the accused themselves. See also Whitelocke, p. 368.

claimed the king, "will you hearken to one word?"

Bradshaw. "You cannot be heard after the sentence."

The king. "Not heard, Sir?"

Bradshaw. "Begging your leave, no Sir; guards, take away the prisoner!"

The king. "I can speak after the sentence... with your permission, Sir, I have still the right to speak after the sentence.... With your permission.... Wait.... the sentence, Sir, the sentence.... I say, Sir, that.... I am not allowed to speak; think what justice others can expect!"

The soldiers now surrounded him, and taking him from the bar, carried him with violence to the place where his sedan waited for him; as he went down the stairs, he had to endure the grossest insults; some threw their lighted pipes on his passage; others blew the smoke of their tobacco into his face; all cried in his ears, "Justice! execution[h]." Yet the people still mixed the cries of, "God save your majesty! God deliver your majesty from the hands of your enemies!" and till he had seated himself in the

[h] State Trials, vol. v. col. 1151, in Axtell's trial. A witness said, at the trial of Augustus Garland, one of the judges, that he had seen him at the foot of the stairs spit in the king's face. Garland absolutely denied it, and the judges did not insist. Herbert, who accompanied the king, does not mention it either, so that I have thought it might be unauthentic, though Warwick, who held almost all the details inserted in his memoirs from bishop Juxon, expressly affirms it, p. 291.

sedan, the bearers stood with their hats off, notwithstanding Axtell's orders, who even struck one of them. They set out for Whitehall; the troops marched on each side of the road; before the shops, at the doors and windows of every house, there was an immense crowd of people; most of them silent, some weeping, others praying aloud for the king. Every few minutes, the soldiers, to celebrate their triumph, shouted again, "Justice! Justice! Execution! Execution!" But Charles had now regained his accustomed serenity; and, too proud to believe in the sincerity of their hatred, he said, as he left the chair: "Poor souls, for a shilling they would say the same against their own officers[1]!"

As soon as he arrived at Whitehall: "Hark ye!" said he to Herbert, "my nephew, and a few lords who are attached to me, will do all in their power to see me; I am thankful to them; but my time is short and precious, I wish to employ it in the care of my soul; I hope, then, that they will not take offence that I refuse to see any one except my children. The greatest service that can be now rendered to me by those who love me, is to pray for me." He sent for his younger children, the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester, who had been left in the care of parliament, and for Juxon, bishop of London, of whom he had already, through the intervention of Hugh Peters, obtained religious assistance.

[1] State Trials, vol. iv. col. 1130; Herbert, Memoirs, p. 118.

Both these requests were granted. The next day, the 28th, the bishop went to St. James's, to which place the king had been removed; as he approached him, he gave full vent to the violence of his sorrow: "Let us have done with that, my lord," said Charles, "we have no time to think of that; let us think of our great affair; I must prepare to appear before God, to whom, in a short time, I shall have to render an account of myself. I hope to do it with calmness, and that you will have the goodness to render me your assistance. Do not let us speak of those wretches into whose hands I am fallen; they thirst for my blood; they shall have it; God's will be done! I give him thanks; I forgive them all sincerely, but let us say no more about them." He passed the rest of the day in pious conference with the bishop; it was with great difficulty that consent had been obtained for him to be left alone in his room; and while Juxon was with him, the door was opened every few minutes to make sure that the king was still there. As he had expected, the prince his nephew, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, and a few others of his most devoted friends, came to see him; but he did not receive them. Mr. Seymour, a gentleman in the service of the prince of Wales, arrived on the same day from the Hague[k], the bearer of a letter

According to Tomlinson's evidence (State Trials, vol. v. col. 1179) it was the day of his death, at Whitehall, that the king re-

from the prince; the king ordered him to be admitted, read the letter, threw it into the fire, gave his answer to the messenger, and sent him away immediately. The next day, the 29th, almost at dawn of day, the bishop returned to St. James's. When the morning prayers were over, the king sent for a box containing broken crosses of the order of St. George and of the garter: "These," he said to Juxon, "are the only riches that it is in my power to leave my children." His children were brought to him; the princess Elizabeth, who was then twelve years old, burst into tears; the duke of Gloucester, who was but eight, cried also, when he saw his sister; Charles took them both upon his knees and divided his jewels between them, consoled his daughter, gave her advice on the books she was to read to strengthen herself against popery, charged her to tell her brothers that he had forgiven his enemies, and her mother that even in thought his affection had never wandered from her, and that to his last hour he should love her as dearly as when they first met; then turning towards the little duke, he said: "My dear child, they will soon cut off your father's head;" the child fixed an earnest gaze upon him as he said these words: "Mark, child, what I say; they will cut off my head, and perhaps make you a king; but, mark what I say, you

ceived Mr. Seymour; I have followed Herbert's account (Memoirs, p. 126.)

must not be a king as long as your brothers Charles and James live. They will cut off your brothers' heads when they can catch them; and your head too, they will cut off at last! Therefore, I charge you, do not be made a king by them." "I will be torn in pieces first!" replied the child, with great emotion and energy. Charles fervently kissed him, put him down, kissed his daughter, blessed them both, and called upon God to bless them; he then told Juxon to take them away; the children sobbed aloud; the king stood with his head leaning against the window, trying to repress his tears; the door was open, the children just going out, when Charles hastily came from the window, took them again in his arms, blessed them once more, and at last tearing himself from their embraces, fell upon his knees and began to pray with the bishop and Herbert, who were the only witnesses of this scene of affliction[1].

On the same morning the high court met, and appointed his execution to take place the next day, January 30th, between the hours of ten and five o'clock. When they were about to sign, it was with great trouble that the commissioners could be gathered together; in vain two or three of the most violent stood at the door, stopping such of their colleagues as wished to pass

[1] Herbert, Memoirs, p. 128-130; Warwick, Memoirs, p. 292; Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 1398; Journals of the House of Commons, January 20th; the king's trial, in the Collection, p. 93-96.

into the commons, summoning them to come and sign their names [m]. Cromwell alone was gay, noisy, and bold, giving himself up to the grossest buffoonery; he was the third who signed; after he had written his name he smeared the ink all over Henry Martyn's face, who sat by him, who immediately served him the same. Colonel Ingoldsby, his cousin, who had been put down among the judges, but who had not sat in the court, happened to come into the hall: "This time," said Cromwell, "he shall not escape;" and, laughing aloud, he seized Ingoldsby, and with the assistance of a few other members, he put the pen in his fingers, and, guiding his hand, obliged him to sign [n]. Fifty-nine signatures were at last collected; many of the names were so scribbled, either through agitation or designedly, that it was almost impossible to read them. The order was addressed to colonel Hacker, colonel Huncks, and lieutenant Phayre, who were charged to prepare everything for his execution. Till then, the ambassadors from the States, Albert Joachim and Adrien Pauw, who had been five days in London, had vainly solicited an audience of the house; neither by their official request, nor by their visits to Fairfax, Cromwell, and a few officers, had they been able to obtain it. They were suddenly informed, about one o'clock, that

[m] State Trials, vol. v. col. 1219; Thomas Wayte's trial.

[n] Harris, Life of Cromwell, p. 201; Mark Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House, vol. i. p. 118.

they should be received at two by the lords, and at three by the commons. They went immediately, and delivered their message; an answer was promised them, and as they returned to their lodgings they saw preparations making at Whitehall for the execution. They had received visits from the French and Spanish ambassadors, but neither would join in their proceedings; the first satisfied himself with saying that for a long time he had foreseen and done all in his power to avert this deplorable event; the other said he had not yet received orders from his court to interfere on the subject, though he daily expected to receive some. The next day, the 30th, about twelve, in another interview with Fairfax at the house of his secretary, the Dutch ambassadors received a gleam of hope; he had been touched by their representations, and, seeming at length resolved to rouse himself from his inaction, he promised to go immediately to Westminster to solicit at least a reprieve. But as they left him, in front of the very house in which they had just met they saw a body of cavalry, who were clearing the place; all the passages to Whitehall, all the adjacent streets, were also filled with them; on all sides they heard it said that everything was ready and that the king would soon arrive [o].

[o] These details are taken from the correspondence of the ambassadors themselves with the States, (Despatches of the 9th and 15th of February,) of which his majesty the king of the Netherlands graciously permitted that a copy should be given me. The

In fact, early in the morning, in a room at Whitehall, Cromwell, Hacker, Huncks, Axtell, and Phayre, had assembled by the bed in which Ireton and Harrison were still together, to draw up and expedite the last act of this fearful procedure, the orders addressed to the executioner: "Colonel," said Cromwell to Huncks, "it is you who must write and sign it." Huncks obstinately refused: "What a stubborn grumbler!" said Cromwell. "In truth, colonel Huncks," said Axtell, "you make me ashamed; the vessel is in the harbour, and you want to furl the sails before the anchor is cast!" But Huncks persisted in his refusal; and Cromwell, muttering between his teeth, sat down and wrote the order himself, and presented it to colonel Hacker, who signed it without objection [p].

Nearly at the same moment, Charles, after a few hours of tranquil sleep, left his bed: "I have a great affair to terminate," he said to Herbert, "I must get up immediately;" and he went to his toilet. Herbert was agitated, and did not comb his hair with his usual care: "I pray you,"

documents of this important correspondence will be found literally translated at the end of this volume. They prove how doubtful, notwithstanding Herbert's narrative, (Memoirs, p. 143,) whom in other respects I think Mr. Godwin (Hist. of the Commonwealth, vol. ii. p. 680) does wrong to disbelieve, is the anecdote from which almost all historians have related that Ireton and Harrison had passed that time in prayers with Fairfax to conceal from him what was going on.

[p] State Trials, vol. v. col. 1148-1180; Axtell and Hacker's trial.

said the king, "take as much pains as usual; though my head is not to remain long upon my shoulders; I will be dressed like a bridegroom to-day." As he was dressing he asked for a second shirt: "The season is so cold," he said, "that I might tremble; some people would attribute it to fear, and I would not have such a supposition possible." As soon as day dawned the bishop arrived, and commenced his pious office; as he read, in the xxviith chapter of the gospel according to St. Matthew, the passion of Jesus Christ, the king asked him, "My lord, did you choose this chapter as applicable to my situation?" "I beg your majesty to observe," said the bishop, "that it is the gospel of the day, as the calendar indicates." The king appeared deeply affected, and continued his prayers with greater fervour. At about ten a gentle knock was heard at the door; Herbert did not go to the door; a second, rather louder, though still gentle knock, succeeded: "Go," said the king, "and see who is there:" it was Hacker: "Tell him to come in," said the king. "Sir," said the colonel, with a low and trembling voice, "it is time to go to Whitehall; your majesty will still have an hour there to compose yourself:" "I will go directly," answered Charles; "leave me." Hacker went out: the king bent for a few moments more in mental prayer, and then, taking the bishop by the hand, "Come," said he, "let us go; Herbert, open the door, Hacker

knocks again;" and he went down into the park, through which he was to pass in his way to Whitehall.

Several companies of infantry awaited him, forming a double line on each side of his road; a detachment of halberdiers marched on before, with banners flying; the drums beat; not a voice could be heard for the noise. On the right of the king was the bishop; on the left, with his head uncovered, was colonel Tomlinson the commander of the guard, whom Charles, touched by his attentions, had requested not to leave him till his last moment. He talked with him, as they advanced, of his funeral; of the persons to whom he wished the care of it to be entrusted, with a serene air, a beaming eye, a firm step, walking even faster than the troops, and wondering at their slowness. One of the officers on service, probably thinking to confuse him, asked him whether he had not concurred with the late duke of Buckingham in causing the death of his father: "My friend," answered Charles, with gentleness and contempt, "if I had no other sin than that, I call God to witness that I should not have any need to beg his forgiveness." When he arrived at Whitehall he ascended the stairs with a light step, passed through the long gallery, and gained his bedroom, where he was left alone with the bishop, who was preparing to give him the communion. A few independent ministers, Nye and Goodwin among the rest, came and knocked at the door,

saying that they wished to offer their services to the king: "The king is at prayers," answered Juxon; yet they still insisted; "Well then," said Charles to the bishop, "thank them in my name for their offer, but tell them frankly that after having so often prayed against me, and without any reason, they shall not pray with me in my agony. They can, if they like, pray for me; for that I shall be grateful." They retired: the king knelt down, and received the communion from the hands of the bishop, and, rising with vivacity, "Now," said he, "let these rascals come; I have forgiven them from my heart, and I am prepared for all that I have to go through." His dinner had been prepared; he refused to eat any of it: "Sir," said Juxon, "your majesty has long been fasting; the weather is so cold, perhaps on the scaffold some fainting . . ." "You are right," interrupted the king, and he took a piece of bread and drank a glass of wine. It was then one o'clock: Hacker knocked at the door; Juxon and Herbert fell on their knees: "Rise, my old friend," said Charles, holding out his hand to the bishop. Hacker knocked again; Charles ordered the door to be opened: "Go on," he said to the colonel, "I will follow you." He advanced through the banqueting hall, still between a double rank of soldiers; a multitude of men and women, who had rushed in at the peril of their lives, stood motionless behind the guard, praying for the king as he passed: the soldiers themselves were silent, and did not in-

sult him. At the further end of the hall an opening had been made in the wall leading immediately to the scaffold, which was entirely covered with black; two men, dressed as sailors, and both wearing visors, stood by the axe. The king arrived carrying his head erect, and looking on all sides for the people, to speak to them: but, seeing that soldiers only covered the place, and that none could approach, he turned towards Juxon and Tomlinson, and said: "I cannot be heard by many but yourselves, therefore to you I will address a few words;" and he delivered to them a short speech which he had prepared, and which was calm and grave to coldness, and merely intended to maintain that he had been right, that contempt of the rights of the sovereign was the true cause of the people's misfortunes, that the people ought not to take any part in government, that upon this condition only would the country ever regain peace and its liberties. While he was speaking, some one touched the axe; he turned round hastily, saying, "Do not spoil the axe, it would hurt me more;" and when he had finished his speech, some one again approaching it, "Take care of the axe, take care!" he repeated, in a tone of terror. The most profound silence reigned: he put a silk cap upon his head, and, addressing himself to the executioner, said; "Is my hair in the way?" "I beg your majesty to push it more under your cap," replied the man, bowing. The king, with the help of the bishop, pushed his

hair aside. As he was doing this, he said: "I have on my side a good cause, and a merciful God!" "Yes, Sir," said the bishop, "there is but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. Consider, it will soon carry you a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven!" "I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; where no disturbance can take place!" and, turning towards the executioner: "Is my hair now right?" he said. He took off his cloak and George, gave the George to Juxon, saying, "Remember[q]!" he then took off his coat, and put on his cloak again, and looking at the block, he said to the executioner; "Place it so that it will not shake." "It is firm, Sir," replied the man. The king. "I shall say a short prayer, and when I hold out my hands, then . . . ."

He stood in meditation, said a few words to himself, raised his eyes to heaven, knelt down, and laid his head upon the block; the executioner touched his hair to push it still further under his cap; the king thought he was going to strike; "Wait for the signal," he said. "I shall wait for it, Sir, with the good pleasure of your majesty." In about a minute the king held out his hands; the executioner struck; the head was severed at a blow. "This is the head of a traitor!" cried he, holding it up to the people: a long deep murmur spread around Whitehall; many persons

[q] It was never known to what the king alluded by this word.

rushed to the scaffold to dip their handkerchiefs in the king's blood. Two troops of horse advancing in different directions, slowly dispersed the crowd. When the scaffold was at length clear, the body was taken away: it was already enclosed in the coffin when Cromwell wished to see it; he considered it attentively, and, taking up the head in his hands, as if to make sure that it was severed from the body; "This," he said, "was a well-constituted frame, and promised a long life[r]."

The coffin remained exposed for seven days at Whitehall; an immense concourse of people crowded round the door, but few obtained leave to go in. On the 6th of February, by orders of the commons, it was delivered to Herbert and Mildmay, with a command to bury him in Windsor castle, in St. George's chapel, in which was the tomb of Henry the Eighth. Thither he was taken with decency but without pomp; six horses covered with black cloth drew the hearse; four mourning coaches followed, in two of which were the king's last servants, those who had followed him to the Isle of Wight. The next day, the 8th, with the consent of the commons, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, arrived

[r] Warwick, Memoirs, p. 294-296; Herbert, Memoirs, p. 140-142; Trial of Charles the First, p. 96-108, in the Collection; Mark Noble, Memoirs of the Protectoral House, vol. i. p. 118.

at Windsor, to assist at the funeral; they caused to be engraved on the coffin only these words:

CHARLES, REX,
1648[s].

When the body was removed from the interior of the castle to the chapel, the weather, which had till then been clear and fine, changed all at once: snow fell in abundance, and covered the black velvet pall; the king's servants thought this sudden whiteness an emblem of their unfortunate master's innocence. When they arrived at the place in which his remains were to be deposited, bishop Juxon was preparing to read the service of the English church; but Whitchcott the governor opposed it: "The liturgy decreed by both houses," he said, "is obligatory for the king as well as for all." They submitted; no religious ceremony took place: as soon as the coffin was lowered into the vault, all left the chapel, and the governor shut the door. The house of commons called for an account of the expence of the obsequies, and allowed five hundred pounds to pay for them[t]. On the day of the king's death, before any express had left London, they caused

[s] The English year then began on the 24th of March, and was not yet settled by the Georgian Calendar; January 30th, 1648, the day of Charles's death, corresponds to the 9th of February, 1649.

[t] Herbert, Memoirs, p. 144-157; trial of Charles the First, in the Collection, p. 108.

an ordinance to be published, which declared as a traitor whoever should proclaim in his stead and as his successor "Charles Stuart his son, commonly called prince of Wales, or any other person whatsoever[u]." On the 6th of February, after a long debate, and notwithstanding the opposition of twenty-nine voices against forty-four, the house of lords was solemnly abolished[x]. Finally, the next day, the 7th, a decree was adopted, bearing: "It has been proved by experience, and this house declares, that the office of king is in this country useless, expensive, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and good of the people; it is therefore from this day abolished[y]." A new great seal was engraved[z], on one side of which was a map of England and Ireland with the arms of the two countries; and on the reverse, a representation of the house of commons sitting, with this inscription; "The first year of liberty restored by the blessing of God, 1648."

[u] Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1281.

[x] Ibid., col. 1284.

[y] Ibid., col. 1285.

[z] The order was given as early as the 9th of February; Parl. Hist., vol. iii. col. 1258.

ELUCIDATIONS

AND

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

I GIVE here the unpublished documents and letters relative to the intervention of the States in favour of Charles I. The first of these pieces is in French, the others are in Dutch; M. Guizot had them completely and literally translated from the certified copies made from the originals under the supervision of Mr. Jouge, keeper of the records of the Netherlands, expressly for M. Guizot, and sent to him from the Hague. I have translated the whole literally from the French version. The pieces which precede these are taken from English works within the reach of the English reader, respecting which see vol. i. p. 339.

I. *A summary of what his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales caused to be represented in his presence to the High and Mighty Lords of the States of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, by the Resident of the King of Great Britain, etc., January 23rd*, 1649.

His royal highness the Prince of Wales has for a long time had the intention of requesting a personal audience, to acknowledge the honours

and great civilities he has received from their Lordships since his arrival in these countries; at present he most anxiously wishes it, on an occasion of the greatest importance to his royal highness, of which he presumes their Lordships will also have a like feeling. Their Lordships cannot be ignorant of the great danger in which the life of the king, his father, now stands; how, after a personal treaty with the two houses of parliament, there was so much advanced towards peace by the concessions of his majesty that the said houses declared themselves resolved to proceed on them to the establishment of peace in the kingdom; which would indubitably have succeeded had not the army seized his majesty's person, and committed to prison several members of parliament who had shown themselves the most zealous in favour of peace.

Such is, then, the state of that very miserable kingdom; the king is so closely confined that a gentleman, sent on purpose by his royal highness only to see his majesty, was not admitted to his presence; the parliament so broken up and dispersed that there only remain about fifty members out of five hundred in the house of commons; and the house of lords, who have unanimously refused their concurrence to these violent proceedings, totally annulled by a declaration of these few in the commons, by which they proclaim that all sovereign power in that kingdom belongs to them without the participation of king and lords. So that the members of

parliament do not meet, except those who agree and submit to a court-martial, constituted to govern the kingdom; having to this purpose published a remonstrance containing the plan of a new government, which they desire to establish to the ruin of the parliament as well as the king, subverting the whole fabric of the kingdom, its constitution and all its laws, and exposing the protestant religion to the invasion of more heresies and schisms than ever in one century infested the Christian church.

Not satisfied with this confusion, a resolution has been moreover declared, and commissioners appointed, for a trial against the person of his majesty, apparently with the intention to dethrone him and take away his life; which his royal highness cannot mention without horror, and which he is certain that their Lordships will hear with like detestation.

What influence these unprecedented proceedings will have on the interest and the rest of all kings, princes, and states, and how much the extravagant power these people have usurped, can affect the tranquillity of the neighbouring countries, and how far the reformed religion is likely to suffer by these scandalous proceedings of those who profess it, it is not necessary that his royal highness should urge to the consideration of their Lordships; but he contents himself with giving them this melancholy statement of the condition and misery in which the king and the crown of England are now placed; assuring

himself that their Lordships will act upon it with that esteem and respect they have ever shown to so good a friend and ally. Thus his royal highness promises himself that he shall obtain, as soon as possible, from the friendship and prudence of their Lordships, such assistance from their counsels and otherwise, which the present extreme necessity of the king his father, and his royal highness require, who by this will ever be really and for ever obliged to contribute all in their power to the support and the forwarding of the interest, grandeur, and felicity of their Lordships.

After these representations of the prince of Wales, the States resolved to send Albert Joachim and Adrien Pauw, as extraordinary ambassadors to London, giving them the following instructions.

II. *Instructions given to the Ambassadors of the States, sent to London in the year* 1649.

The ambassadors are to represent to the English parliament that the consequences of the king's imprisonment will turn to the advantage or disadvantage of the kingdom of England, according to the moderation or severity that will henceforth be shown towards his person; for all the disinterested are of opinion that the distress in which he is at present, has come upon him because he was of a contrary opinion to that which

prevailed as to the means to be employed to remedy the evils which exist in the kingdom of Great Britain. As it is yet time to find remedies for these evils, the parliament are begged not to tolerate that all sorts of pretexts should be seized upon to aggravate the grievances with which the prisoner is already loaded, and thus render him more unfortunate than he is already. Supposing that the party who is now in misfortune had gained the day, he might perhaps have visited the conduct of his adversaries with rigour, and refused them all means of defence; but, gentlemen, the States are persuaded that the conscience of all those who will hear the proposals of MM. the ambassadors, will suggest them the answer within themselves that this would not have been equitable, and they will approve the axiom: *Politicum in civilibus dissensionibus, quamvis sæpe per eas status lædatur, non tamen in exitium statûs contenditur, proinde qui in alterutras partes descendunt hostium vice non habendi.*

Gentlemen, the States know that your Excellencies have appointed commissioners to examine the king's situation; they trust as much in the choice of your Excellencies as in the sincerity and honesty with which the said commissioners will give, in the present cause, a judgment which may be submitted to the examination of the whole world, and be one day approved by the supreme Judge to whom they will be responsible. All well-disposed persons expect that in

an affair of so great an importance, a wise and Christian course will be adopted.

The experience of all times has shown that suspicion easily introduces itself into all governments; that in those composed of several bodies, it is usually a powerful incitement; in short, that there is neither shame nor dishonour in it when the safety of the state is concerned, which renders all fears legal and commendable. Yet nothing can be worse than to give way to boundless suspicions, which cause everything to be interpreted to evil.

If your Excellencies have thought that some misfortune threatened the kingdom of England, in preventing it you have attained your object. Every one knows that it happens to the wisest of those who govern the commonwealth, to blend some of their own private affections with public affairs; and that never to fail in the management of great concerns, is a perfection above human nature, the failing in which must be easily excused.

This is, Gentlemen, what the States beg your Excellencies to take into consideration, convinced that you will do it with the greatest wisdom. Notwithstanding the suspicions that your Excellencies have conceived respecting so great a personage, you must hold in account so long an imprisonment, (which, in itself, is already, according to common laws, a great punishment,) and all the great and notable services rendered

to the kingdom by him and his predecessors, kings and queens. Your Excellencies will have compassion upon him, and remember: *Ut eximatur periculo qui est inter vos celebri fama ne ipsis opprobrio multi magis ac magis alienentur.*

It is of great importance to the welfare of the kingdom of England, that your Excellencies should proceed in consequence, and follow the counsel of that Roman who advised, the better to assure the measures of Pompey's consulship, not to annul anything that had been done under preceding governments, but only to be prudent for the time to come. One may also reasonably apply to the present circumstances, that excellent precaution which was taken by some one else, who, in order to prevent the destruction of his own statue, carefully preserved that of his enemy from being overthrown, although he had completely subdued him. It is thus that your Excellencies are requested to act in an affair of so great importance, which may be the source of so many troubles, and to show your goodness towards this great personage, in preserving him from shame and ignominy; for it is not sparing men to allow them to suffer beneath the withering breath of dishonour. The parliament is, then, entreated to render the king his liberty.

The ambassadors are also, according to circumstances, *mutatis mutandis,* to lay the abovementioned considerations before general Fairfax and the council of the army; adding to them that their distinguished merit has given them a

great authority in the kingdom of England, and that all these things depend principally on them and will be decided according to their intentions. On which account the States recommend this affair to their great wisdom, so that they may be not only a sword and a shield in time of war to England, (whose greatest hopes are now placed in them,) but also a help to the king in his present distressed situation, by directing public discussions towards a good and moderate end, by which the kingdom will be benefited, and which will bring on themselves an immortal glory. By their magnanimity they will cause most of their fellow-citizens to shed tears of joy, who are at this moment on the point of weeping with sorrow. In antiquity it was said that the Syracusians were but the body and the limbs, and that Archimedes was the soul which animated all; the same thing may be said at present, with far more reason, of the kingdom of England, and of his Excellency, as well as the council of the army: this body and these members will not act in the present affair, by any other impulse than that with which his Excellency and the council of the army will inspire them according to their wise reflections. While they will thus array their own brilliant and eminent qualities in fresh glory and grandeur, their beneficial influence will be imparted to every inhabitant of the kingdom. The ambassadors will moreover add, that there was a great captain and wise statesman who gloried in having never caused any one of his countrymen to shed a

tear; regarding as the sweetest fruit of his victories that he could every day dare to meet all his fellow-citizens, having followed the proverb: "That clemency brings love and reverence to all those who use it, and that severity, far from destroying obstacles and difficulties, usually augments and multiplies them."

Prudent physicians also fear to employ too powerful remedies, because these often drive the disease and the life from the body together, and for safety's sake they prefer the use of slower means.

If his Excellency and the council of the army act thus, the hearts of the well-thinking subjects of England will join with theirs in reciprocal friendship, which is a better, and a far more powerful means of uniting and strengthening a state than the heaviest chains of iron.

The States think that the kingdom of England will be invincible, if his Excellency as well as the council of the army will build on foundations so equitable to the whole world, and so agreeable to God, which are besides so conformable to the character of the English nation, and to the situation of its affairs. Finally, the States entreat his Excellency and the council of the army to employ the said means, so that the king may be enlarged from his prison and restored to liberty.

III. *First Despatch from the Ambassadors in England to the States.*

High and Mighty Lords:

We arrived here on the 5th instant, towards evening; we were received by the gentleman usher with many excuses, and we immediately requested and insisted upon an audience for the next day; after which, late in the evening, we addressed our first despatches to you[a]. On the 6th, early in the morning, we requested through our secretaries and the gentleman usher to be presented to both houses of parliament. In reply the speaker of the upper house informed us, that the said house had adjourned to Monday, and the speaker of the house of commons sent us word, that, notwithstanding some particular obstacles, he would present our request, and do what he could in order to obtain a favourable reply. Our secretaries having waited for the answer, the said speaker sent us word in the afternoon, that the house could not meet in the morning, because all the judges, who were also members, had been obliged to assist at the high court of justice, and that by this reason the lower house had also been obliged to adjourn to Monday next. Hearing afterwards that on the same day, the said court of justice had pronounced sentence of death against the king, in the king's own presence, we succeeded,

[a] They are without historical interest.

on Sunday the 7th instant, (although all occupations that do not relate to religious worship are here excluded from this day;) after much trouble, in obtaining, even in the morning, first a private audience of the speaker of the lower house, and then, one of that of the upper house; and, at last, in the afternoon, (but not without great difficulty,) we were admitted to general Fairfax, lieutenant-general Cromwell, and the principal officers of the army, who were at that time assembled at the general's house. We made all possible representations to the said speakers, to the general, and the lieutenant-general, in private, as well as to them all assembled; we enforced our solicitations with the most powerful motives, to obtain a reprieve of the king's execution, (which it is supposed is fixed for Monday,) until we should have been heard by the parliament; but we only received different answers, dictated by the disposition or the temper of each of them.

On Monday the 8th, we sent again early in the morning to the speakers of both houses, to urge them to obtain an audience for us; and after our secretaries had been compelled to wait at Westminster with the gentleman usher till the afternoon, we were all at once informed, not a quarter of an hour before the time, that the two houses would receive us before they went to dinner, and that we were to go at two o'clock to the upper house, and at three to the house of commons. We acted according to this

information, and went to the upper house, where there were very few peers, as well as to the house of commons, where sat about eighty members. After having verbally stated and delivered in writing the substance of our instructions, tending principally to obtain a delay of the king's execution, until we should have, in a second audience, or in private conferences, expressed more powerful motives to induce them to grant him his life, or at least not to proceed precipitately to execute the sentence of death, we were answered by the two speakers that our proposal should be taken into consideration.

The members of the upper house voted that conferences on this subject should immediately take place between the two houses; but as the day was already far gone, and as the members of the house of commons, as soon as our audience was over, rose to depart, even before we had left the room, into which we had been shown to go down stairs, we with all possible speed had our proposal translated and delivered to the speaker of the lower house, and afterwards to the speaker of the upper house.

Yet, having seen yesterday as we passed by Whitehall, that preparations were making, which were said to be for the execution, and having conferred for a long time this morning with the commissioners of the crown of Scotland, in order to save, if it be possible, the king's life, we still continued to request of parliament, through our secretaries, either an answer or another audience;

we endeavoured also, by the intervention of the Scottish commissioners, to speak once more to the general, and we met him at about twelve at his secretary's house, at Whitehall. The general was at length touched by our urgent entreaties, and declared that he would go directly to Westminster and recommend to parliament to grant the answer and the reprieve which we requested, and that he would take a few officers of note with him to forward this purpose.

But we saw, in front of the house in which we had just spoken with the general, about two hundred horsemen; and we heard on our road home, as well as when we reached thither, that all the streets, passages, and squares of London were occupied by troops, so that no one could pass, and that the environs of the city were surrounded with cavalry in order to prevent any one from going out or coming in. We could not, and we knew not in consequence, what to do more. We had already been told two days before, previous to, as well as after our audience, and trustworthy persons had constantly assured us, that no proceeding, no intercession in the world could succeed, and that God alone could prevent the execution resolved upon; the same, to their great regret, had also been told us by the Scottish commissioners. And thus did events prove; for, the same day, between two and three o'clock, the king was taken to a scaffold covered with black, erected before Whitehall. His majesty, (accompanied by the

bishop of London, who, it is stated, gave him consolations and the holy sacrament this morning at six o'clock,) after having said a few words, gave up the garter, the blue riband, and his cloak, took his coat off himself, and showed a great deal of firmness in all his conduct. The king, having laid himself down, his head was cut off, and held up to the gaze of all the people present.

This is what, to our great regret, we are obliged to announce to your high and mighty Lordships; and we declare that we have employed all possible diligence, without intermission, and with all our power, to acquit ourselves of your high and mighty Lordships' commission in seeking to prevent the execution of this fatal sentence. In the meantime, as in this country all kinds of reports are circulated for and against it, according to every one's fancy, and as they are often embellished or exaggerated, particularly now all minds are so disturbed, we pray your high and mighty Lordships, in case you should receive contrary or more alarming reports than the present, to place no faith in them; and to believe us, who came hither at the peril of our lives, and who have neglected none of the duties with which we were charged.

We dare not inform your high and mighty Lordships of the further particulars that we learn either in private or through the public on this event, as the passage is very difficult, and all the seaports are closed. We shall merely

add that it is said the king, while on the scaffold, recommended that religion should be strengthened by taking the advice of Roman catholic divines, and that the rights of the prince his son should be respected, adding that he thought his conscience innocent of the blood which had been shed except of that of the earl of Strafford. Immediately after the king's death it was announced and proclaimed throughout the town by sound of trumpet.

By the present, we beg the Almighty to grant a long prosperity to your high and mighty Lordships and to your high and mighty government.

Signed, ALB. JOACHIM.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 9th, 1649.

IV. SECOND DESPATCH.

High and Mighty Lords:

By our first despatch of the 9th instant, we minutely informed your high and mighty Lordships of all our proceedings with the principal personages in office in this country, as well as of the solicitations which we addressed and the proposals we transmitted publicly and in writing to the two houses of parliament; (of which we herein insert a copy, not having had time to enclose it in our preceding despatch, which was sent by an unexpected opportunity,) proposals which were left unanswered, as well as our re-

quest of being admitted to a second audience, and were followed by the immediate execution of the king, and an order forbidding any one, under pain of high treason, to take upon themselves any authority in the name of monarchical power, or to acknowledge and favour the government of the prince of Wales, or any other pretender to the royal succession.

Already, before this event had taken place, we apprehended, and our fears have since been realised, that it had been resolved among the authorities here to abolish entirely the monarchical government, and to establish one of a quite different nature; for it is already publicly asserted that the descendants of the late king will be, without any exception, excluded for ever from any sovereignty in this country, without, however, its being declared what sort of government is to replace that which is to be abolished.

We have also just heard that commissioners are already appointed by parliament to go with all possible speed to Scotland, where they presume and announce being able to direct affairs according to the system adopted in England. It is also said publicly, as well as in private, that the members of the upper house show themselves displeased at the king's execution, and do not at all agree with the house of commons on the changes to be introduced in the government; in another quarter it is thought that Scotland wishes to adhere to monarchical government, and to its old institutions. It is difficult to fore-

see what will be the issue of all these combinations and changes in the two countries; and though public tranquillity is nowise disturbed in the capital, since there is a strict watch exercised by the numerous military stations, we are ignorant what in this respect is the situation of the counties.

Yesterday we received a visit from the lieutenant-general Cromwell, who spoke to us with infinite respect of the government of your high and mighty Lordships; among other subjects, he spoke of religion, giving us to understand that, with the concurrence of your high and mighty Lordships, it would be necessary to re-establish it here upon a better system, and to give it a better organisation.

The earl of Denbigh, who came also yesterday to see us, enlarged on different questions relating to the government, passed and to come; from which we concluded that there are still many affairs to arrange, and that the measures they purpose to take do not give rise to any probable conjecture on their issue and their success. As the unfortunate event of the king's execution puts an end to the negotiation with which our embassy was charged, we will jointly use our best endeavours that the affairs of our mission may suffer as little as possible, and that they may thereby continue to be treated according to the interests and to the entire satisfaction of your high and mighty Lordships.

The functions of the high court of justice

having ceased, other tribunals have been appointed to try the peers and other illustrious state prisoners, such as the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, lord Goring, etc. Those of a lower rank will be judged by the usual tribunals, and the prisoners of war by a court-martial.

Among other things that are at present treated of in parliament, it is proposed that our countrymen should enjoy here all the rights of navigation, commerce, manufacture, trades and market, equally and in common with the English nation. As we were not ignorant of these dispositions, we were given to understand that they were disposed to make more full and minute proposals to us on this subject. We think we give your high and mighty Lordships a proof evident enough that all questions beyond the usual track of affairs are attended to here at present.

With this we beg the Almighty to keep in long prosperity the government of your high and mighty Lordships.

Signed, ALB. JOACHIM,
A. PAUW.

London, February 12th, 1649.

V. THIRD DESPATCH.

High and mighty Lords:

After the bloody catastrophe which put an end to the king's life, an event of which our despatches of the 9th and 12th instant informed your high and mighty Lordships, we resolved to remain at home according to the example given us by other ambassadors, and by the Scottish commissioners. Yet the French ambassador and the Scottish commissioners having paid us a visit before this event, and the Spanish ambassador having repeatedly done us the same honour before and after, we could do no otherwise than return this act of kindness to the first, and receive the visit of the latter; so we reciprocally acquitted ourselves of this duty on the 13th, and we remarked that their above-mentioned Excellencies were deeply affected by this great event, though the French ambassador had already assured us beforehand of his perfect knowledge of the events which would take place.

The ambassador of Spain, Don Alfonso de Cardenas, communicated to us that the day after this fatal event he had received orders from the king his master to intervene in the affairs of this country; but at present he is of opinion, as well as the French ambassador, that by the unexpected death of the king their diplomatic character and functions have ceased, and they cannot act any longer in their high office, nor inter-

fere in any respect until they have received fresh orders from their court. The Scottish commissioners have sent two despatches to their constituents, that is, to the Scottish parliament at present assembled; they expect an answer to their first despatch in the course of a week, and will not act till they are duly authorised.

The general opinion is that the government will undergo an entire change; that monarchy will be put aside, and another form of government introduced; that perhaps the commonwealth of Venice, of the United Provinces, or some other republican government, will be imitated. We are informed that, in fact, nine members of the house of peers and eighteen of the house of commons are to meet in commission to draw up the plan of a fresh constitution. The 13th of this month was the day appointed for the meeting of the royal judges in a court of justice at Westminster-hall; but we have just been informed that the meeting did not take place; the judges having alleged that they were not sufficiently qualified for this, as the authority with which they were invested expired at the king's death, and they cannot resolve to accept so soon their new nominations, made by parliament, nor change the title of their acts and other necessary formalities, such as those adopted by the parliament on the 29th of January, 1648 (English style,) and which we transmitted to your high and mighty Lordships by our despatch of the 9th instant. We still remain, till now, in

the most complete uncertainty on the issue of the events which, from the diversity of opinions and other fortuitous occurrences, may still undergo vicissitudes that it is impossible to submit to any probable conjecture; we can therefore only remark, that till now public tranquillity has not been in any way disturbed; and we pray your high and mighty Lordships to attach no other importance to our information than that we deserve by our efforts to discover truth in this multitude of true and false reports which we receive on all sides, and which only leave us the satisfaction of confidentially informing your high and mighty Lordships of what we have been able to collect through zeal for their service. With which we beg Almighty Providence to maintain in a perpetual prosperity the government of your high and mighty Lordships.

Signed, ADRIEN PAUW,
ALB. JOACHIM.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 15th, 1649.

VI. FOURTH DESPATCH.

High and Mighty Lords:

The information contained in our last letter, of the 15th of this month, having appeared important enough to us, we took care to forward it to your high and mighty Lordships by a safe and

speedy opportunity. Yet the wind having since that time been very contrary, we fear that it did not reach its destination so speedily as we had anticipated. Since that, we have witnessed events of still greater importance. On the 16th of this month, the house of commons, notwithstanding the wish and the expectation of the commissioners of both houses now sitting in committee, and who request to be consulted on all the measures which are taken, decreed that the house of lords should from that period cease its functions, and be no longer consulted nor looked upon as a deliberative assembly, or as forming an authority in anything concerning the affairs of the kingdom; so that, notwithstanding that the lords and princes still retain their titles and dignities, and may be liable to occupy any office whatever, the English parliament will henceforward consist of one house of commons alone; and the peers will no longer be admitted in it but as simple deputies appointed by the counties. The next day, the 17th, the house of commons by a decree abolished the office of king for ever in England. We are moreover informed that the parliament thus reduced to one house of commons, will meet every two years for a limited time; and that executive and permanent power will be intrusted to a council of thirty or forty members, in which about twelve peers will be allowed to sit. Thus organised, this council will represent the sovereign power of the kingdom in the absence of parliament. This last measure

is not, however, so definitively decided as the two above-mentioned. Besides this, the house of commons will be successfully completed by the return of several members who take their seats by signing an expurgatory act, by which they declare that they renounce the opinions which have till now placed them in opposition to their colleagues. It is also said that new judges for the high court will be shortly elected, and justices of peace or inferior judges.

The earl of Denbigh, speaker of the house of lords, not having been able to send us a message on the 17th, came on the 18th to inform us in what manner this assembly had been dissolved and annulled, and to deliver their last commands in transmitting to us the answer to our proposals. After having read them to us, he gave us a copy, which we enclose in the present, and he kept the original for his personal use, adding, at the same time, that it was the last act of the deliberations of the upper house, who would not dissolve until they had given this mark of respect to your high and mighty Lordships.

The house of commons also sent the gentleman-usher to us to inquire when it would suit us to present ourselves to them to receive their answer to our proposals. To which we replied, that as soon as the house would acquaint us with the time appointed for this audience, we would go thither.

Since the melancholy event of the king's death, we have not insisted upon an answer; and though

we have heard no more about it, we are told that an outline of this answer has just been formally published in the Gazette of this city, without any official communication of it having been sent us. A report had previously been spread, and even printed, that we had requested that our proposals should not be made public. Nothing can be more false than this assertion; without having in any way interfered as to this publicity, or having even mentioned a word on the subject, we left it entirely to the discretion of the two houses, to each of which our proposals were separately addressed in writing with the necessary form. We remarked besides, that the reply made by us to the speaker of the house of commons when our proposals were delivered, was not inserted in the Gazette according to its real import, and it has been till now impossible for us to discover whether these publications appear with or without the sanction of the superior authorities.

On the 16th of this month, a few troops of infantry and cavalry were sent from hence to Bristol; and there is a report that in that town, as well as at Gloucester, some displeasure has been manifested against the proceedings of parliament. Yet here, and in the neighbourhood, all is quiet.

To-day is the day appointed for the appearance of the impeached lords, Hamilton, Holland, and Goring, and Capel and Sir John Owen, before the newly-created court at Westminster-hall.

These lords, with the exception of the earl of Holland, who is ill, have appeared before that court, and after they had heard each in their turn the charges brought against them, and answered according to their means of defence, they were sent back to prison to await another summons for the continuation of their trial.

We conclude this by praying divine Providence to watch more and more over the prosperity of the government of your high and mighty Lordships.

Signed, ADRIAN PAUW,
ALB. JOACHIM.

VII. FIFTH DESPATCH.

High and Mighty Lords:

The Scottish commissioners, having received a message from their parliament, sent to inform us of it last evening at a late hour, and forwarded to us the proclamation, the decree, and the letter, copies of which accompany this letter. Your high and mighty Lordships will learn by their contents, that the Prince of Wales has just been proclaimed by the Scottish parliament, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. The commissioners besides informed us, that a gentleman, the bearer of these decrees, had been sent from Scotland to foreign countries; that the proclamation of them had been made everywhere,

and that they were preparing to send an envoy, furnished with the most minute instructions, to the monarch on this account. It is said here, that the parliament are much displeased by this measure; but particularly because it was not enough for them that he should be proclaimed king of Scotland only, but they must moreover add king of Great Britain and Ireland also. Troops are still raised here in secret, and their march towards Scotland and other places is continual, which cause it to be presumed that in the last engagements many men were slain. The capital yet continues to enjoy perfect tranquillity, and there is no appearance of sedition in it; the crews of all the men of war have been successfully completed, and we should not be surprised if in a very short time there should be nearly thirty vessels perfectly equipped and ready to sail; it is asserted that this number will hereafter be increased to seventy, and it is added that three commissioners of parliament will take the command or the superintendence of this fleet; in this case, the command of the earl of Warwick seems no longer to be mentioned. Last Monday, the 22nd of this month, the gentleman-usher came to inform us that on the Wednesday or Thursday following, we should be requested to go to parliament to receive, before the whole assembly, an answer to our proposals. On Wednesday he informed us that the audience would take place on Thursday evening; and accordingly they came on that day to conduct us in

the usual carriages to Westminster-hall. Having been immediately introduced to the house of commons, we sat down on the chairs which had been prepared for us; and the speaker having read the answer of the house, a copy of it was delivered to us. After which we answered in a few words that when we should have read it, we would ourselves convey it to our government, to which it was our intention shortly to return, and that we availed ourselves of the present opportunity to take our leave of parliament as ambassadors. The house on that day was much more numerously attended than at our first audience, on account of the return of several absent members, and the restoration of many dissenting members who had come to take their seats under the protection of the expurgatory decree. The nomination of a greater number of members has been one of the first cares of the new house; after which they proceeded to elect the thirty-eight members of whom the state-council of the kingdom is to be composed, and whose names your high and mighty Lordships will read in the inclosed Gazette. The judges of the kingdom also met last week, and held their usual assizes or terms as they are here called.

The day before our last audience, and consequently after we had been told of it, we received the letters of the 22nd of this month, from your high and mighty Lordships; and having already prepared for our departure we shall effect it as soon as possible, wishing to

return as early as we can to your high and mighty Lordships, to communicate the answer we have received, and render a verbal and minute account of our mission, which was accompanied and followed by a multitude of incidents and circumstances, that, in the present precarious state of affairs, we do not think proper to trust to paper. Contrary winds and rather severe frosts have put obstacles to the navigation of the Thames; we cannot therefore fix the day of our departure; but we will seize the first opportunity to return, either directly or by way of Dover and Calais, notwithstanding the inconveniences which this last passage is said to present.

The state prisoners, viz: the duke of Hamilton, lord Goring, lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, have already appeared several times before the the high court of justice. The first alleged a ground of exception, but it was refused, and he was ordered to prepare his defence, and counsel were assigned to him; the three others confined themselves to their means of defence, particularly lord Capel, against whom, on account of the capitulation and the quarter granted, the generals Fairfax and Ireton were heard as witnesses; they appeared for this personally before the court. All these circumstances give rise to many fears as to the fate of these noble personages, and they are considered to be in imminent danger. We think it proper to inform your high and mighty Lordships, that the present is the sixth letter we have sent to you, the two

preceding ones being of the 15th, and 19th of this month; the delays occasioned by the frost and contrary winds give us reason to fear that some of them may not have reached your high and mighty Lordships.

We conclude by calling for the protection of divine Providence on the prosperity of your high and mighty Lordships' government.

Signed, ADRIAN PAUW,
ALB. JOACHIM.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 26th, 1649.

THE END.

OXFORD: PRINTED BY D. A. TALBOYS.

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on 27 November, 2018